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MARK SUTHERLAND:
OR,
POWER AND PRINCIPLE.

BY EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH.

CHAP. X.

Imagine something purer far,
Morsel from stain of clay,
Than Earth, with all its wealth, love, or passion are,
Yet human still as they.
And if thy lip for love like this
No more shall, word can frame,
Go ask of angels what it is,
And call it by that name.
Moore.

Rosalie Vivian and Robert Bloomfield reached home just as the carriage containing Col. Ashley rolled into the yard. The old gentleman alighted, greeted the young people with a most cheerful and kindly smile, and with unusual vigor and lightness tripped up stairs into the hall. His servant, laden with packets of newspapers and letters, followed.

"You may take my word for it, Rosalie, that the Colonel has received some excellent news by this morning's mail! And now just observe the power of the soul over the body! Joyful news will so rejuvenate infirm old age, that it will skip about, elastic as youth. Witness Col. Ashley, who stepped up those stairs more lightly than I ever saw him move in my life; while disappointment and sorrow will so enfeeble youth that it will move about drooping like paralytic age. Witness me ready to drop from my saddle with exhaustion—from your unkindness, Rosalie!"

"I am not unkind, nor do you look very much prostrated, let me say, Robert! But will you not come in?"

"No," mournfully replied the young man, assisting her to alight.

"You had better—we have strawberries for tea! Will you stay spring?"

"Nonsense!" exclaimed Robert, with an offended air.

"Strawberries from uncle's premium conservatory, and cream from your own premium dairy; you had better think it over!"

"Fiddlesticks," exclaimed Robert, contemptuously.

"Oh, *then* there's no more to be said, of course!"

"Good morning, Rosalie."

"Good morning, Robert; but won't you shake hands with me?" she asked, offering her hand. He seized that little hand, and squeezed it and pressed it to his lips, and with an expression of curiously-blended deprecation and reproach, dropped it, mounted his horse, and gallopped away.

Mrs. Vivian was standing dawdling with a white rose in the piazza. She came forward, with tender care, to meet Rosalie. "Did you bride fire—are you tired, love?"

"Not very?"

"But you look pale and wearied."

"A moment's rest will restore me, dear mamma."

"Come in and sit down, while I take off your things," said the kind little lady, leading her step-child into the parlor. She sat her down in a deep-cushioned chair, rang the bell, ordered a cordial, and then removed her hat and riding-skirt. When she had made Rosalie take a cracker and a little glass of anise-seed cordial, and when the silver was removed, and they were left alone Rosalie reclining upon the sofa, Valeria sitting in the easy-chair near her, the lady inquired—

"Why did not Robert come in?"

"I do not know, unless it was because he did not wish to do so."

"Have you quarrelled?"

"Quarrelled! Dear mamma, I never had a quarrel with any one in all my life, and never expect to have one, with anybody—least of all with Bob."

"That is no reason you should not have a lover's quarrel—*they* befall the most amiable pair. Is it so?"

"What, mamma?"

"Have you and Robert had a 'lover's quarrel?'"

"No, indeed—I assure you."

"Yet Robert went away offended—'in dudgeon,' as uncle would say."

Rosalie looked distressed. The lady eyed her searchingly.

"Rosalie, will you let me speak to you frankly, and ask you a few questions?"

"Certainly, dear mamma; I would turn my heart inside out, and show you its most hidden secret, if it had any secrets."

"Well, then, are you and Robert engaged?"

"No, mamma."

"He has not yet proposed, then."

"I scarcely know, mamma, whether I ought to reveal poor Robert's confidences—yet—*yes*, he has proposed."

"Well?"

"Well, mamma!"

"You did not reject him?"

"Yes madam."

"I'm astonished! How long ago has this been?"

"Dear mamma, twelve months ago Robert first did me the honor of offering his hand, and I gratefully declined it."

"Yet continued to keep his company. Oh, Rosalie! Well, has he ever renewed his proposals?"

"Yes, mamma, several times."

"And you still continued to reject them?"

"Of course, mamma."

"And yet you still accept his attentions. Oh, Rosalie!"

"Was I—am I wrong, mamma?" asked Rosalie, looking up from where she reclined upon the sofa.

The lady eat with her hands clasped upon her knees, in a simple, earnest attitude, with her eyes fixed in sorrowful doubt upon her child.

"Do you ever mean to review your decision, and accept him, Rosalie?"

"Never, mamma, I assure you!"

"Are you very certain, Rosalie?"

"Certain, dear mamma, beyond all possibility of doubt."

"If I could believe it?—

"Dear mamma, you may rest assured of it! Why, if I thought it was to be my fate to marry Robert Bloomfield, well as I like him, I think I should die of grief and terror!"

"And yet you keep his company! Oh! Rosalie, I am surprised."

"Is it not right, mamma?"

"What a simple question! Oh, child! if it were not you, I should say it is unprincipled!"

"Mamma, you distress and alarm me! Why must I not keep poor Robert's company, when he takes so much comfort in my society?"

"Comfort! Does he talk comfort—do you call it comfort? No, Rosalie, it is a feverish, consuming hope that keeps him at your side; a wasting, baleful hope, which, since you do not intend to realize to him, it is your bounden duty to extinguish forever!"

"Mamma! I do not quite understand you. I am sorry, very sorry, that I cannot return Robert's regard——

"Oh!" exclaimed the lady, interrupting her, "I am not sorry for *that*; as to *that*, I am very glad you are not engaged to him, nor over likely to be; but"——

"But why add to the grief of rejection the bitterness of ingratitude and coldness?"

"To refuse his attentions, to deny him your company, would not be either the one or the other, and it is your duty."

"When poor Robert has no consolation in the world but my company?——

"To say he has no other intoxication, would be nearer the truth. Rosalie, you are so young, so delicate, so spiritualle, so inexperienced. Rosalie, there is a kindness that is cruel, and that is what you have been showing poor Robert! all this time. And there is a cruelty that is kind, and that is what you must show him now."

"Mamma, if you think it wrong, I will never ride with him—never!"

"And avoid him as much as possible, Rosalie."

"Indeed I will, mamma. Poor Robert!"

"Poor! Robert! all this time. The flame without fuel will soon expire harmlessly."

By this time the young girl had quite recovered from her fatigue, and she arose and left the room, to prepare her strawberries, she said.

She passed into a pleasant back room connected with the pantry and dining-room, but opening upon the garden, and devoted to certain light dessert preparations, such as the shelling of peas, stoning of cherries, &c. It was a cool apartment, with a bare white-oak floor, and many doors and windows open, and looking out upon the pleasant garden, with its budding spring flowers—its roses, hyacinths, and daffodils—and upon the orchard, with its peach trees and cherry trees, covered with pink and with white blossoms—and farther off, upon the green and dewy wheat field, lying in fertile dales between gray and mossy rocks and mountains. It was indeed a pleasant room, looking out upon a fresh, verdant, rural scene. Rosalie sat down in the midst of the room, with a basket of fresh strawberries on her right hand, an empty basket to receive the caps on her left, and a cut-glass dish on her lap. Romance dwelt in her soul. She had a decided attraction to these little graceful domestic avocations; and as her nimble fingers capped the strawberries and dropped berries in the dish and threw off the hulls in the basket, she began to sing some lively rural glee; and while she was busily engaged, singing and capping, she chanced to look up, and saw Mark Sutherland approaching the house from the garden. He met her chance glance, and smiled to see her so busy and merry. She was in a merry mood, or she would not have felt free to say to him what she said.

"Come in, Mr. Sutherland; I have got something for you, very nice!"

Mark came in, and she said—"Make a bowl of your joined hands, now, and here!"

She poured into his hands some fine large strawberries, adding—

"These are the first fruits of the season, Mr. Sutherland, and we offer them to you."

"Let me first merit them, by helping you," said Mark.

"Will you help me?"

"Certainly; that is, if I am not intruding on some household or sanctuary."

"Oh, no! this room is open and common to the whole family and our visiters; why, it is the pleasantest room in the house, only as it is near the pantry and upon the garden, and opens upon the kitchen garden, we prepare our fruit and sometimes pick over our vegetables here."

Mr. Sutherland drew a chair on the other side of the table, and sitting down, began to work—nobody could tell why—actuated by some whim, no doubt. After a little desultory conversation, Mr. Sutherland said—

"I believe, dear Rosalie, that I owe this station to your friendly remembrance, and I have been waiting some hours for an opportunity of expressing my thanks?——

Rosalie's face flushed to the temples.

"I am deeply obliged and grateful to my fair patroness."

The blush deepened, crimsoning her face. She waved her hand shortly, deprecatingly, impatiently; she began—"Mr. Sutherland?"—and stopped, as it were, choked.

"Miss Vivian, are you so unwilling to receive my acknowledgments? Then must my gratitude be silent, but not the less deep."

Again she essayed to speak, and the words came vehemently, impetuously—

"I had no agency in procuring this station for you, Mr. Sutherland. How could you think for a moment that *I* or any one else could presume to 'patronize' you in such a manner? How could you suppose, for an instant, that I, or any one else that knew you, could deem this position a fit and proper one for you? No! could I have dared to interfere, it would have been to prevent your coming here."

There was a tone of honest, earnest indignation in the dark eyes, and manner, that utterly astounded Mark Sutherland. Could it be that she thought him unworthy of the position? No; he dismissed that surmise at once, and answered, quietly—

"I confess you surprise me, Rosalie! Is not the vocation of a teacher really honorable, if conventionally humble?"

"It is greater than higher, more difficult, more responsible, than any other, except that of the preacher of the Gospel!" answered the girl, earnestly.

"What is the matter, then—am I unfit for it?"

"I must fulfil my engagement with your uncle!"

"Why! smiled Mark; "has my education been neglected?"

"I know that you are a distinguished classical and mathematical scholar, Mr. Sutherland; and for any other branch of knowledge quite fitted to take a Professor's chair; but to be a teacher of young children, gentle and rarer qualifications, which you have not."

"To wit?" inquired Mark, much amused with his young mentor.

"To wit, first, patience; you should have a natural vocation for teaching, and consequently the love of it, which you have not; a great deal of affection for children, which you have not; much patience, much forbearance, much humility, some of which qualities you have, and others you have not."

"I am tempted to ask you to specify which I have and which I have not, but I will not."

"I thought you would be trying to open a glorious career for yourself, and achieve a great name?"

"In what manner?"

"I thought you were going to be a statesman."

"*A lawyer*, child."

"Why are you here, then, Mr. Sutherland? Why are you not at your lawyer?"

"Rosalie, I made an effort, many an effort, to get admitted to practice at the bar of S——. I had thought myself well qualified, for I had studied legal, and knew what you call an attraction—a vocation for the profession. For several years past I had read law *con amore*; yet, through the want of familiarity with the technicalities of practice, I failed to get admitted as a practitioner before the court."

"Then I would have gone into some lawyer's office, and assisted him as a copyist for nothing, until I had acquired an intimacy with those crabbed technicalities. It seems to me like such a very trivial matter for an impediment. Why, there is your uncle, who is no lawyer, but who can draw up a right legal and binding document with as many 'whereases' and 'aforesaids' as ever made a composition unintelligible?"

"My dear Rosalie, that would have been a very small beginning."

"Deepise not the day of small things," said the wise man. And at least the lawyer's office would have been in the way of your genius; and to have entered it in the capacity of copyist would have been much better than to have turned into this by-path, which is utterly opposed to it."

"There were difficulties in the way of even that, Rosalie."

"And even if there *were* difficulties, what then? We have no royal road to success and distinction in our country. We have no ready-made great name, ready to hand down—at least of none have 'greatness thrust upon them.' If any would be great, he must 'achieve greatness.' Nearly *all* of our heroes and statesmen have struggled up from the humblest places in society—have struggled up, alone and unaided, until they have proved their metile; and the struggle has been wholesome for them, and has tended, more and more, to build up manly natures."

"You speak wisely and truly, dear Rosalie; yet each of all these men to whom you have alluded had near and dear friends—mothers, sisters, a wife, perhaps—to watch his career, and rejoice in it—to soothe him in moments of exasperation, from injustice, from opposition, from persecution, and in moments of gloomy hours of despondency and despondency, when all his hopes and energies seem palsied, and the wheels of life and action seem clogged and stopped; and, finally, to share and enjoy his success, and to glory in his triumph. Oh, believe me, Rosalie, man cannot work for himself alone! It were a low and selfish aim!"

"But he can work for humanity—he can work for God!" said Rosalie, in a low and reverent voice.

Mark Sutherland sat, with his eyes fixed upon the ground, in deep thought. Rosalie continued—

"Attain a position, Mr. Sutherland—such a position as the prophetic voice in your heart foretells. Win fame! not for yourself, but for your country, and for the cause you have espoused, but for the POWER that it will endow you with—the POWER to right the wronged, to raise the fallen, to deliver the oppressed, to redeem the evil, to spread the glorious truth of God to men and before God! Labor, wait, struggle, for such a position, and, though no mother, sister, wife, or love, smile on your career, men and the unseen will know it! God will bless it!"

Mark Sutherland still remained buried in deep and silent thought upon her words. Oh, if *India* had so spoken to him, so sympathized with his aspirations, so encouraged his flagging hopes and energies, what might he not have accomplished, even before this! But this child Rosalie was nothing, and yet she spoke words of high moment, and spoke them "as one having authority."

"You astonish me, Rosalie; you talk far beyond your years and sex; you really astound me."

"I wish I could convince you."

"Yen do, you do, my child. But, Rosalie, how is this? You must have reflected very much, for one of your tender years."

"I am not so young, I am seventeen."

"A venerable age, indeed. But, Rosalie, how is it that you have thought so much beyond girls of your age?"

"Have I done so?"

"Why, assuredly—do you not know that you have? Now tell me how it is?"

"Well, if it is so as you say—for *I* do not know and cannot judge of young people, having never had any young companions—I suppose it is because I have been always sickly, and have always led an isolated, solitary, meditative life; bearing in my secluded retreat only the loudest echoes of the distant great world of society, I have naturally thought most about its great successes, and how they were accomplished. I have watched from afar the career of living men, and have traced their worship into myself idols like them. I have read with deep interest the lives of distinguished statesmen and heroes, particularly those who have risen up from poverty and obscurity; that is the reason."

"Yet that is very unusual in so young and beautiful a girl. I cannot yet comprehend it—I am seemingly baffled in it."

"The pleasures of childhood and girlhood were not for me—there was nothing left but books and much thought over needle-work in solitary hours. Please do not give me undue credit; it is more surprising than likely, I must tell you how it was I thought so much of your life: Nearly two years ago, after you made such a vast sacrifice to principle—giving up wealth and position, family, friends, perhaps love, esteem, *all* for duty—hero-worshipper that I was, I recognised in you the elements of which heroes are made, and?——

"Oh, nothing, only I dived more deeply than ever before into my lives of great men, and reflected more than ever upon the causes that made them great, if you do not think it presuming in a girl like me to talk deep reflection upon such a subject. But my mind ever had an attraction to it, and you gave that attraction a new and strong interest. I thought of your life, and how you had entered on the road to an honorable and beneficent distinction. I was grieved to hear that you were coming here; I would have opposed it, had I dared. Do not stop, Mr. Sutherland?"

"I must fulfil my engagement with your uncle!"

"May uncle will release you from it."

"Yet, dear Rosalie, I cannot leave now."

"Do not think me impertinent, impertinent; I wish you would go even now, to-day."

Mark Sutherland looked up at her in surprise, but checked the answer that rose to his lips when he saw her face flushed, her Hebe form heaving, her bosom, the moment their hoofs struck on the turf, seemed possessed with all the fresh, glad impulses and elastic vigor of the spring, rose and fell with the tides of one into a mad gallop, and ran till the very winds were out-winded. Yet not so swiftly did they fly, but that we caught the smell of the violets crushed beneath their feet, and marked all the lovely shadows flung about us from purple clouds floating above. There were larks overhead, singing as they soared—some ascending toward heaven in a spiral column of sweet sounds—some dropping toward earth in lessening circles, as though whirling in a vortex of melody. The campagna was dotted with flocks of snowy sheep, which looked like the shadows of the fleecy, wandering clouds which flecked the fields of heaven—the sky was soft, the sunlight mild and variable, the very soul of spring was abroad over the land.

The entire ride was one succession of delicious pictures and more delicious sensations—one of those perfect pleasures, half-physical, half-spiritual, which constitute the enjoyment of which I long intensely, but, alas, I know how vainly, to convey to others.

To return from such a ride, with the soul filled with images of beauty and the frame invigorated by pure air and noble exercise, with the heart expanded by the love of nature, and the pulses all in bounding play—then to pass through one of the old historic gates, and by the Coliseum, and through the Roman forum—to have the grand shadows of the past flung about you with the shadows of the twilight—this completes and crowns an ordinary pleasure with a sentiment poetic almost to sublimity.

This morning we witnessed a beautiful sight from the summit of the *Pincio*. There was a heavy silvery fog covering the whole city—a sea of mist rolling over it in beautiful billowy masses. At one time, the tower of the Capitol and the dome of St. Peter's were the only distant objects distinctly above it; while the villas on the hills beyond the Vatican looked like castles in the air. There was one which was so beautiful it reminded me of some of the glimpses which the "Pilgrim" caught of the heavenly city from the "Delectable mountains."

Yesterday I visited the church of the *Cappuccini—St. Maria dalla Concezione*—where I saw the Archangel Michael of Guido, which to me is the noblest work of the great painter—at least of those I have seen. The face is surely wonderful for its combination of beauty and power, of sweetness and sternness, and triumph and sorrow. As he stands, wielding his slender sword, with his foot on the prostrate Lucifer, you are struck at once with the youthful lightness, grace, and tenderness of his figure, but you do not doubt for a moment that he overcomes adversary hellward, with immense force and vigor. The head of the Lucifer is infinitely more horrible and disgusting to me for its humanity, than any horned and fiery-tongued representation of the prince of the infernals I have beheld. It is said that this is a likeness of Cardinal Pamili, afterwards Innocent X, on whom Guido took revenge for some criticism, by sending his head and shoulders down to posterity, by the mere addition of a dragon's tail. "To what base ends may we come at last!"

There are several other rather famous pictures in this church, but none by which I was especially impressed. There are bounds to one's capacity for Holy Feeling, for saints and angels; and one's brain becomes at last so crowded by this class of heavenly visitants, that there really is not room for another manger or cell to be put up, another whip to be unfurled.

From the church we descended to the cemetery underneath, where one of the most curious and certainly the most horrible sight I have ever beheld, met my view. Imagine some arch vaulted chambers are kept the bones of ten thousand monks!

When a member of this fraternity dies, he is buried in his cowled brown robe, in the cemetery, the earth of which was brought from Jerusalem; but, after some months, his bones are taken up and arranged in a variety of ways about the walls of the cemetery. The skeletons of the most eminent or holy father are preserved entire, and relie on couches of skulls, or stand in bone-built niches—wearing the coarse brown robes and cowls they lived and died and were buried in, and holding crucifixes and crucifixes. All about them are bones—columns and altars of skulls—festooned with vertebræ, finger and toe joints—ribs made into crosses, and other devices—thighs made into lamps—leg-bones supporting shelves of shoulder-blades and knee-pans—bones of all sorts, arranged in all sorts of emblematical forms—such as scythes, scales, hour-glasses. On the ceiling overhead, in horrible mockery of frescoes of smiling Cupids and Ganymedes, small, shining skeletons grin down upon you, and seem about to drop you dead. To the robed skeletons in the niches some dried flesh and portions of skin adhere, and from the chins of two or three yet depends a long grizzly beard.

It was evidently expected, that the position in which these defunct fathers are placed, that they would wear a look of devotion, or pious meditation; but the attempt has not been altogether successful. The expression varies in death's-heads quite as much as in living faces. For instance, there is one who seems chuckling with sly merriment under his worm-eaten cowl—one who has a fiery look of cruelty and ounning—one who seems to have died cursing, and one who seems to have never died at all, but, as he lies stretched out, with his cowl shading his face, and his hands in his breast, and his mouth open, looks simply like an emaciated, macerated old monk, sound asleep and—snoring.

The underground cemetery is so small and ill-ventilated—the earth above the buried monks seems so light, that one feels that the air must be surcharged with pestilence and death. Yet they perform processions there, wander and meditate there—breathe in the musty atmosphere of the bones of the long-departed ten thousand, and the exhalations from the uncoffined bodies of the lately-departed ten. How strange it seems to me for them to contemplate the certain disposition of their own poor remains—their skulls labeled and packed in arches, and their bones bulded and wreathed into ghastly masonry. Perhaps old friends talk to one another in this wise: "You will see, Brother Anselmo, that they do not scatter my bones too much—you yourself will place my skull where you can come and see it sometimes."

On one night in the year this cemetery is illuminated. Can you imagine a scene more grandly terrible? Imagine ten thousand lamps and swinging chandeliers of bones, the ghastly light gleaming on graves and skeletons—flashing on polished skulls, and searching into thousands on thousands of eyeless sockets! Think of the awful shadows lurking in the recesses and about the niches where lie or stand the dead monks, robed and cowled. Think of masses being said here, and penitential psalms cut wailing through these crowded caverns of Death! Think of processions of dark-gowned, long-bearded monks, passing slowly through, while the cowled heads of the skeletons nod, and the bones rattle, and all the small bones rattle at their tread!

I must confess that, fearful and disgusting as it was, the sight of those old monks, half-skeleton, half-mummies, had for me a sort of horrible fascination. Loathsome parodies, rather than solemn preachers of decay and mortality, they yet are full of the peculiar humanity, half dead when most alive, of their order. Without their cowls, they would look like any monks. They look dark, and secret, and humble, with an indestructible air of paternity. I had a strange feeling that they not only regarded me, but one another, and half believed that at night, when they should have the place all to themselves, they would talk to each other, in husky and sepulchral voices, of the past glory and immediate decay of the Church—of matters that concern their order—of the sanctity and severity of its founders, and of the laxity and imbecility which have crept into it since. Perhaps, occasionally, or, perchance, lament solemnly and piteously together the good old times when Popes planted their feet on the necks of Emperors, and the flames, and rack, and other oubliettes of the Inquisition were in full play.

But perhaps I do the cowled mummers wrong—one and all may have been mild, innocent, charitable—given to fasting, prayer, and ministrations of mercy among the poor—men who shut the glory of the world and the light of human joy from their cloistered lives, that the pure lamp of divine truth might be nursed and trimmed, that the sounds of human struggle and pleasure, that the heavenly voices might steal on the solemn stillness—men in whom the love of God abounded, and who found no room for loading it kindness for All His creatures.

Among the thousands of priests, monks, and friars, whom I meet in Italy, I sometimes recognize a form of a peculiarly noble character, and a noble and saintly head, borne with that true humility which is the highest dignity—a face, thoughtful without severity, gentle without weakness, and full of sympathy with outcuning or fanaticism. There are a few whom you thus recognise at once as Christ's ministers—poor and self-denying, meek and gentle and sorrowful—going about doing good, among the sick, the imprisoned, and the afflicted. Such are the true *holy fathers*—for the blessing of such I would kneel as readily as the devoutest Catholic in the land. But, as far as I can judge by observation, there are few of this class—the greater part are unintellectual, inferior, repulsive-looking men. Many are gross, many gloomy, hopeless, and utterly adrift in expression. The monastic orders are peculiarly seem soulless and decayed—the life of letters, which of old was their peculiar strength and glory, having departed from them.

We are told that the Church should be preserved and revered for what she has been in the far past—for having served as the sole asylum of learning during the dark ages, when the Flock of Christ was scattered over the earth. But we do not read that the patriarch Noah was commanded to preserve the old hulk of the ark which bore the elect of humanity, through a drowned world, on a sea which circled the globe—whose waves ran before the sun through all his march. We do not read that he was directed to make of its storm-battered and water-rotted timbers an eternal habitation for his sons. No; he was told only to have done its work, was doubtless left to go to pieces, according to the decrees of Nature. The Church was surely Heaven-appointed for a grand and beneficent purpose; that purpose is accomplished—her great work for humanity is done. As well, a thousand years after the flood, could all the life spring from the life which once it bore, as from the Church of Christ, the immense adversary hellward, with immense force and vigor. The head of the Lucifer is infinitely more horrible and disgusting to me for its humanity, than any horned and fiery-tongued representation of the prince of the infernals I have beheld. It is said that this is a likeness of Cardinal Pamili, afterwards Innocent X, on whom Guido took revenge for some criticism, by sending his head and shoulders down to posterity, by the mere addition of a dragon's tail. "To what base ends may we come at last!"

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When a member of this fraternity dies, he is buried in his cowled brown robe, in the cemetery, the earth of which was brought from Jerusalem; but, after some months, his bones are taken up and arranged in a variety of ways about the walls of the cemetery. The skeletons of the most eminent or holy father are preserved entire, and relie on couches of skulls, or stand in bone-built niches—wearing the coarse brown robes and cowls they lived and died and were buried in, and holding crucifixes and crucifixes. All about them are bones—columns and altars of skulls—festooned with vertebræ, finger and toe joints—ribs made into crosses, and other devices—thighs made into lamps—leg-bones supporting shelves of shoulder-blades and knee-pans—bones of all sorts, arranged in all sorts of emblematical forms—such as scythes, scales, hour-glasses. On the ceiling overhead, in horrible mockery of frescoes of smiling Cupids and Ganymedes, small, shining skeletons grin down upon you, and seem about to drop you dead. To the robed skeletons in the niches some dried flesh and portions of skin adhere, and from the chins of two or three yet depends a long grizzly beard.

It was evidently expected, that the position in which these defunct fathers are placed, that they would wear a look of devotion, or pious meditation; but the attempt has not been altogether successful. The expression varies in death's-heads quite as much as in living faces. For instance, there is one who seems chuckling with sly merriment under his worm-eaten cowl—one who has a fiery look of cruelty and ounning—one who seems to have died cursing, and one who seems to have never died at all, but, as he lies stretched out, with his cowl shading his face, and his hands in his breast, and his mouth open, looks simply like an emaciated, macerated old monk, sound asleep and—snoring.

The underground cemetery is so small and ill-ventilated—the earth above the buried monks seems so light, that one feels that the air must be surcharged with pestilence and death. Yet they perform processions there, wander and meditate there—breathe in the musty atmosphere of the bones of the long-departed ten thousand, and the exhalations from the uncoffined bodies of the lately-departed ten. How strange it seems to me for them to contemplate the certain disposition of their own poor remains—their skulls labeled and packed in arches, and their bones bulded and wreathed into ghastly masonry. Perhaps old friends talk to one another in this wise: "You will see, Brother Anselmo, that they do not scatter my bones too much—you yourself will place my skull where you can come and see it sometimes."

On one night in the year this cemetery is illuminated. Can you imagine a scene more grandly terrible? Imagine ten thousand lamps and swinging chandeliers of bones, the ghastly light gleaming on graves and skeletons—flashing on polished skulls, and searching into thousands on thousands of eyeless sockets! Think of the awful shadows lurking in the recesses and about the niches where lie or stand the dead monks, robed and cowled. Think of masses being said here, and penitential psalms cut wailing through these crowded caverns of Death! Think of processions of dark-gowned, long-bearded monks, passing slowly through, while the cowled heads of the skeletons nod, and the bones rattle, and all the small bones rattle at their tread!

I must confess that, fearful and disgusting as it was, the sight of those old monks, half-skeleton, half-mummies, had for me a sort of horrible fascination. Loathsome parodies, rather than solemn preachers of decay and mortality, they yet are full of the peculiar humanity, half dead when most alive, of their order. Without their cowls, they would look like any monks. They look dark, and secret, and humble, with an indestructible air of paternity. I had a strange feeling that they not only regarded me, but one another, and half believed that at night, when they should have the place all to themselves, they would talk to each other, in husky and sepulchral voices, of the past glory and immediate decay of the Church—of matters that concern their order—of the sanctity and severity of its founders, and of the laxity and imbecility which have crept into it since. Perhaps, occasionally, or, perchance, lament solemnly and piteously together the good old times when Popes planted their feet on the necks of Emperors, and the flames, and rack, and other oubliettes of the Inquisition were in full play.

But perhaps I do the cowled mummers wrong—one and all may have been mild, innocent, charitable—given to fasting, prayer, and ministrations of mercy among the poor—men who shut the glory of the world and the light of human joy from their cloistered lives, that the pure lamp of divine truth might be nursed and trimmed, that the sounds of human struggle and pleasure, that the heavenly voices might steal on the solemn stillness—men in whom the love of God abounded, and who found no room for loading in loving kindness for All His creatures.

Among the thousands of priests, monks, and friars, whom I meet in Italy, I sometimes recognize a form of a peculiarly noble character, and a noble and saintly head, borne with that true humility which is the highest dignity—a face, thoughtful without severity, gentle without weakness, and full of sympathy with outcuning or fanaticism. There are a few whom you thus recognise at once as Christ's ministers—poor and self-denying, meek and gentle and sorrowful—going about doing good, among the sick, the imprisoned, and the afflicted. Such are the true *holy fathers*—for the blessing of such I would kneel as readily as the devoutest Catholic in the land. But, as far as I can judge by observation, there are few of this class—the greater part are unintellectual, inferior, repulsive-looking men. Many are gross, many gloomy, hopeless, and utterly adrift in expression. The monastic orders are peculiarly seem soulless and decayed—the life of letters, which of old was their peculiar strength and glory, having departed from them.

We are told that the Church should be preserved and revered for what she has been in the far past—for having served as the sole asylum of learning during the dark ages, when the Flock of Christ was scattered over the earth. But we do not read that the patriarch Noah was commanded to preserve the old hulk of the ark which bore the elect of humanity, through a drowned world, on a sea which circled the globe—whose waves ran before the sun through all his march. We do not read that he was directed to make of its storm-battered and water-rotted timbers an eternal habitation for his sons. No; he was told only to have done its work, was doubtless left to go to pieces, according to the decrees of Nature. The Church was surely Heaven-appointed for a grand and beneficent purpose; that purpose is accomplished—her great work for humanity is done. As well, a thousand years after the flood, could all the life spring from the life which once it bore, as from the Church of Christ, the immense adversary hellward, with immense force and vigor.

For the National Era.

LONGINGS FOR SPRING.

BY LUELLA CLARK.

Bitterly bleak blasts are blowing;
Still and steadily 'tis snowing;
Stern and cold the heart is growing
All the prospect how forlorn;
Chill and cheerless clouds are hiding
Yonder sun, which, o'er abiding,
All triumphant should be riding,
Making merry this March morn.

O that Spring, with footstep cheery,
Would dispel the Winter weary—
Wray the head, and heart cheery
In her rose-anointed robe;
O that she these clouds would sever,
Putting them to flight forever,
Bringing storm and sadness never
On the green and gladsome globe.

Would the rills, through long months holden
By the fetters of Frost, unfolden,
Spring to meet the sunshine golden,
Wooing them along the hedge.
How I long to hear them flowing,
And to mark green grasses growing,
And the tiny violets blowing
All along their mossy edge.

I would see the soft shoots springing,
I would hear the turtle singing,
Visions of fresh gladness bringing
To the hopeful household eaves;
I would watch the moist buds peeping,
Watch the leaves and blossoms creeping,
And the May-flowers coyly creeping
From the withered autumn leaves.

Could I greet one dewy dawning,
Could I spend one rosy morning
Mid the rural, rich adorning
Of the graceful greenwood bowers,
I would cast my long sad sadness
In an ecstasy of gladness,
Revelling in blissful madness
All the bright and blessed hours.

O for one of those releases
Which the sense enraptured seises!
When the blossom-breathing breezes
Scatter, as they wander by,
Buttercups and blossoms blue,
Ever beautiful and new,
Brightening daily with the dew
From the still and starry sky.

Yellow violet! coyly hiding
Where the woodland streams are gliding,
In secluded nook abiding,
Lithe stem, with but timid souls.
O that Spring at length would woo thee!
How the loves would gather to thee,
If, like me, they only knew thee,
Nestled 'mong the mossy knolls.

How I long for rural rambles,
Lingering 'mid sweet-scented brambles,
Where the sportive streams gambols
With the reeds where lilies grow;
How I yearn to be a rover
Through the clumps of clustering clover,
And cool cowslips, covering over
All the sunny mead below.

Last night's dreams bright visions bore me:
Sunny skies for wintry gloom;
Pleasant paths opened before me,
Leading to a maple grove;
Fairy foliage interlaced me,
Long and leafy vines embraced me,
Laughing streamlets murmured, "haste thee,"
Wooing me with them to rove.

In green-haunted dreams how lightly
Beats my heart; and O how brightly
Come these blessed visions nightly,
Mirth and melody to bring;
Yet this morn bleak blasts are blowing,
Still and steadily 'tis snowing,
And my saddened heart is growing
Weary, waiting for the spring.

Angels of the fragrant flowers,
Breathe upon the budding bowers!
Send, O send refreshing showers;
Speed thy coming, lingering Spring!
O that these clouds would sever,
Putting them to flight forever,
Bringing storm and sadness never,
Till we greet the robin's wing.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

FREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GALESBURG.

Adopted April 24, 1853.

Whereas, some year and a half since, the officers of this church petitioned Knox Presbytery to take such action in reference to slavery in the General Assembly as would make their consciences comfortable, and the Assembly to depend upon the question whether the Assembly separated itself from slavery; and whereas the Presbytery has taken no such action, and has withheld compliance to take any such action as requested on the subject, but appears willing to remain in connection with the Assembly, and, by consequence, with slavery. Therefore,

Resolved, That this Church cordially approve the action of their officers noticed above.

Resolved, That we hereby request our session to send no delegate to Peoria and Knox Presbytery, until the Presbytery shall take the ground against slavery in the Assembly indicated in their petition, or in some other way satisfy the session that they will forsake the Assembly unless the Assembly forsakes slavery.

N. CHURCHILL, *Clerk.*

AN EXAMPLE.

TROY, MICHIGAN, *April 5, 1853.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

As you have noticed our efforts in Troy Michigan, in the cause of freedom, I thought I would just give you the result of our town election, hoping it may encourage other towns to the same efforts we have made—as I have no doubt the same amount of labor and expense in circulating documents and newspapers (the latter of which are mostly paid for by the readers) would produce like results in other towns. At the time of the promulgation of the Pittsburgh platform, there were not known to be over ten or twelve political Anti-Slavery men in town. We immediately organized, procured and circulated documents, solicited and obtained subscribers for the *Era* and other Anti-Slavery papers, and by these means obtained, out of less than 300 votes cast in the town, 96. After election we commenced circulating, holding frequent meetings—doing our own talking; (except in one instance, we have had no foreign aid.) Yesterday our town election came off. The Whigs and Democrats agreed to unite, and we elected our ticket over all the forces they could bring to bear, by a majority of 32. This we consider the result of legitimate action, although we are charged with fanaticism, misrepresentation, &c. I should like to see these facts published; just arrange them to your own liking. Yours, &c., WM. G. STONE.

For the National Era.

LETTERS ON FRANCE.—NO. 5.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Jan.*, 1852.

MY DEAR MADAM: I find I have yet a subject to touch upon, and that I must venture upon another letter if I would treat of it. It is a matter of much delicacy, in which I feel deep interest—an interest which I am quite sure a participant in it must share.

Who, indeed, reflecting on the miseries and injustice of our social condition, causing so much suffering and misfortune to the weaker sex, but will rejoice in any, however trivial, alleviation of the moral condition of humanity? What woman that has a heart, but will rejoice to know that the social position of her own sex has been improved, and that the revolting degradation of the old time has been changed to one of less danger to moral character?

If there is anywhere a true test of the progress of a nation, it is to be found in the moral condition of its women. France will bear a fair examination on that point, as compared with what she was, and with other nations around her.

We all know—our common sense tells us so, our knowledge of the female character tells us so, and proofs are never wanting to the observer—that the direst distress and injustice are the portion of women in adversity, to move, in portion, that distress and injustice, and you partially remedy the evil. Remove it entirely, and the moral sore disappears.

In Europe, the remnants of feudalism—social, political, and religious—has so long existed, women have been the greatest sufferers. Treated as inferiors, their inequality has been made more apparent by the inequality already existing among men. Unable to maintain herself by industry, woman has necessarily descended to the lowest step in the social ladder.

In France, so little was woman respected before the Revolution of 1789, that the wives of tradesmen were called "mesdemoiselles," the upper class thinking them unworthy the rank of "mesdames." The marriage tie was considered of little importance among a class so near that of the serfs! To this day, even, you cannot insult an aristocrat of the true kind, more thoroughly than by supposing that he or she is of the same flesh and blood, as well as color, with the lower classes!

The Revolution has changed these things, and, in the middle ground among the "lower" class a sentiment of self-respect. Not only do they know they are as good, but they have become comparatively independent in circumstances, and much further removed from the perils of demoralization.

In England, we see the disadvantages of the system of inequality, even in the villages. In France, it is in the great towns almost exclusively that that social pest to which we allude is to be found; for in towns the extremes of wealth and misery necessarily congregate, and victims there must then be.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that in a Protestant country like England, no means have ever been adopted to check vice. It is argued there that it must cure itself! as if immorality continued to blight the qualities of virtue. In that *naughty* France, which has been so abused and misrepresented, the police interferes to regulate what requires by its nature a watchful check. The *unprej

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These terms regulate the price of the *Era* for single copies, and for clubs, *to old or new subscribers*. Three, five, or ten old subscribers, for example, by clubbing, may have so many copies of the *Era* for $5, $8, or $15.

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Agents are entitled to fifty cents on each *new* yearly subscriber, and twenty-five cents on each *renewed* subscriber—*except in the case of clubs.*

A club of three subscribers, one of whom may be an old one, at $5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era* for three months; a club of five, two of whom may be old ones, at $8, to a copy for six months; a club of ten, five of whom may be old ones, at $15, to a copy for one year. Money to be forwarded by mail, at our risk. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposite. It will be seen that the price of the paper, single copy, is two dollars a year. Agents sometimes allow a subscriber, whom they obtain or renew, the benefit of their commission, so that the subscriber, by their kindness, gets his paper for $1.50, or $1.75, as the case may be.

Rates of Advertising.—Ten cents a line for the first insertion, five cents a line for each subsequent insertion.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1853.

The following named gentlemen are authorized agents for the office of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston:

Lewis J. Bates, 48 Beekman street, New York.
William Atkens, No. 82½ Lombard street, Philadelphia.
G. W. Light, No. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We have been repeatedly solicited to issue a monthly, for gratuitous distribution by clubs and individuals interested in the spread of Free Democratic Principles. The time has come for undertaking such a work. If we intend to obtain the control of the Government, we must get the people on our side; but we cannot do this without convincing them that we are right. What they need is, Light, and this we intend to give in our FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE. It will not be a newspaper, or take the place of any Free Soil newspaper; it will not be furnished even to *single* subscribers. The object is twofold—to supply a document, monthly, full of facts and arguments, suitable for *reference*, and calculated to make converts to the cause of Free Democracy. And, as we consider the support of the State or local Anti-Slavery papers vital, we shall keep standing, in each number, their titles, places of publication, terms, &c., so that new adherents to the Party may know where to supply themselves regularly with newspapers of kindred principles.

Every individual has his field of labor—every club has its town, district, or county. They will be glad to secure a document, every month, to circulate among those disposed to inquire into the principles and policy of the Free Democratic movement. We ask their aid in obtaining a hundred thousand readers for the "*Facts for the People.*"

PROSPECTUS OF FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

On the 1st of June next, we shall commence the publication of FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE, a monthly, designed for preservation as a document for reference, or for general circulation, as a Free Democratic missionary, especially among those not yet familiar with the Anti-Slavery movement. It will be composed chiefly of articles from the *National Era*, adapted particularly to the purpose named.

Each number will contain eight pages, and be printed on good paper, of the size of the Congressional Globe, in quarto form, suitable for binding.

It will be furnished at the following rates, by the year, twelve numbers constituting a volume:

6 copies for - - - - -	$1.00
20 copies for - - - - -	3.00
100 copies for - - - - -	12.00

Any person or club may, in this way, by raising $12, supply Anti-Slavery reading every month, for a whole year, to one hundred readers.

All payments must be in advance.

As we wish to begin on the first of June next, and be able to supply the demand for the first number, orders should be sent in immediately. G. BAILEY.

Washington, D. C., April 7, 1853.

P. S. Editors of newspapers favorable to the foregoing, will entitle themselves to six copies of the monthly, by publishing the Prospectus, and directing attention to it.

"MARK SUTHERLAND."

Having once introduced correspondents or contributors to the public, we generally leave them to speak for themselves; and for this reason we have hitherto said nothing of the story of Mrs. Southworth, now in course of publication in the *Era*. It is due to her now to state, that from every quarter we are receiving assurances of the deep interest it has excited. The work has begun, indeed, to awaken attention in England; a well known publishing firm in England has lately written to Mrs. Southworth, proposing an arrangement by which she may receive the benefit of a copyright for the publication in that country.

FAMILIAR LETTERS FROM CUBA, JAMAICA, AND HAYTI.

We have lately secured the services of a most intelligent and agreeable correspondent, who has engaged to write us a series of letters from Cuba, Hayti, and Jamaica. We have already published two letters from him, not intended specially for the *Era*; and in this number will be found another, full of instruction, and high, ly descriptive. The ease and grace of the writer will attract general attention.

LAW RELATING TO FREE COLORED PERSONS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The *Republic* says—

Upon the advent of Mr. Maury in the office of Mayor of Washington, he determined upon the enforcement of the corporation ordinances relating to free negroes; and in one case where the party was fined, an appeal to the Circuit Court was taken by the defendant, in order to test the power of the corporation to enact and enforce such a law.

The defendant below was Isaac N. Cary, a most respectable and orderly free man of color, and he was fined by the Justice of the Peace ten dollars, under the following provision of the 31st May, 1827:

"No free black or mulatto person shall be allowed to go at large through the city of Washington, at a later hour than ten o'clock at night, without a pass from a Justice of the Peace, or a respectable citizen," &c., &c.

Cary was fined for being out after ten o'clock at night without a pass, &c., and appealed. The case was very fully argued before the court upon the law (the facts being admitted) by Mr. Carlisle for the corporation, and Messrs. Lenox and Ratcliffe for the appellant.

Subsequently, his honor Judge Dunlop delivered the written opinion of the court, affirming the judgment.

The whole of the section of the act, from which a part is quoted by the *Republic*, is as follows:

"No free black or mulatto person shall be permitted to go at large through the city of Washington, at a later hour than ten o'clock at night, excepting such free black or mulatto persons as have a pass from some Justice of the Peace or respectable citizen; or be engaged in driving a cart, wagon, or other carriage; and any free person of color found offending against the provisions of this section, shall, on conviction thereof before a Justice of the Peace, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding ten dollars; and all such offenders may be confined in a lock-up house till the following morning: *Provided, however*, That nothing herein contained shall be made to apply to any person of color passing peaceably through the streets to or from any meeting-house or place of worship, or to any person of color sent on an errand, by the owner or employer."

The Judge assumed that the law of Congress authorized the Corporation to pass such an act, and he did not seem to regard it as oppressive.

No valid reason can be offered in support of the act. To colored people driving cabs, wagons, or carriages, going to or returning from a place of worship, or sent on errands by their employers, it does not apply. But, if a colored man, visiting at a neighbor's, or detained on business, or for his own pleasure, or in search of a physician for a sick wife or child, is caught walking the streets after ten o'clock at night, he is liable to arrest and fine. Is this necessary for the safety or convenience of the community? Not at all. No one apprehends any more danger from a colored man in the streets after ten o'clock, than from a white man; besides, another part of the same act makes provision for the suppression of any "idle, disorderly, or tumultuous assemblage of negroes," at any time; and the ordinary police power is all sufficient for the arrest of any one, white or black, who may be detected in unlawful or suspicious movements. To prohibit, therefore, a free colored person from walking the streets after ten o'clock, peaceably and in an orderly manner, is not necessary to any purpose of good government, and is a wanton exercise of power. As there is no valid reason for it, it is degrading and oppressive—degrading, because it presumes evil intent from an innocent act, simply because it is the act of a person of color; oppressive, because it fetters without reasonable cause the liberty of a whole class of persons, simply because they are not white. In some cases, its operation is cruel. "No reputable or orderly free colored man," the Judge presumes, "would be denied a pass from a Justice of the Peace or a respectable white neighbor, on any necessary occasion which called him from home after ten o'clock." A colored man has a sick wife or child. A Justice of the Peace is nowhere in his neighborhood. Respectable white people may live a square or two off, and at all events may not wish to be aroused from their slumbers at midnight to hunt up pen, ink, and paper, to sign a pass; and the signers might, after all, be unknown to the watch. Before he can procure a pass, he may be seized and carried to the lock-up; and ere the morning break, his poor wife or child may be beyond the reach of medical aid.

The act is wanton, degrading, oppressive, inhuman. Let it be repealed. The community will suffer no detriment. Few people, white or black, walk the streets after ten o'clock, except for some good reason. The presumption, when you see a man walking after that hour, is, that he has some lawful object in view. If he has not, his movements will soon betray him, and a vigilant police dispose of him.

YOUNG AMERICA AND YOUNG ENGLAND.

The Washington *Union* complains bitterly of the revival of Anti-Slavery sentiment in England. It assumes that the English people of all classes are organizing plans to promote the abolition of slavery in the United States. Their discussions and movements in relation to this subject it regards as evincing a deep-seated hostility to our institutions and to our Union. It styles them the agitators, intermeddlers, fools, fanatics, incendiaries.

Well, what will you do about it, oh, indignant patriot? Do you not recognise the right of the English people to think and speak and write as they please? Do you deny the liberty of speech and of the press? Do you wish the British Government to do what your own cannot—put down freedom of discussion and prevent the assembling of the people together to deliberate and give expression to their opinions? Or, do you deem this general opposition to slavery by the English press and people a just cause of war against the English Government? Would you have Congress declare war against England because half a million of the women of that country have sent an Anti-Slavery letter to their sisters in this country? or because Uncle Tom's Cabin is admired, and its author honored by Lady Shaftsbury and her aristocratic associates?

"Young America" is just waking up in England. "Young America," you know, is a violent intermeddler; he takes the world under his supervision, and proposes to bring all parts of it under the Law of Progress. Does not "Young America" curse Nicholas, and sneer at Napoleon, and abuse Victoria? Does he not claim the right to control Central America, and annex Cuba, and eject Europe from this continent, and put down thrones and principalities, and redress the wrongs of the people in the Old World? How long since he had an extensive system of affiliated associations in this country, organized with a view to aid the Irish in a revolt against the English Government, and in effecting a repeal of the union between the two islands? How long since he blazed with indignation at the attempt to stigmatize the "patriots" who got up armed expeditions in this country to assist Cuba? And does not Young America now sustain leagues whose object is to stir up dissatisfaction among the Creoles in that island, and embolden them to revolt against the Spanish Crown?

With what face can this *Union*, which has given countenance to "Young America" in all his progressive aspirations and projects, proclaim war upon the women of England for sending letters to their American sisters in regard to slavery?

"Young America" denounces English Despotism, "Young England" bewails American Despotism. "Young America" is no intermeddler—he does what he has a perfect right to do—but "Young England" is decidedly impertinent, officious, in fact, fanatical and abominable!

Men are brethren, however divided by mountains and oceans. This Truth is recognised pro-eminently by the civilization of modern times, and modern art has given it a practical bearing, by annihilating distance, facilitating intercourse, and identifying interests. Japan denys it, and so does the *Union*. What is Christianity practically but an endorsement of this Truth? What are our Missionary Societies, Bible Societies, Peace Societies, Anti-Slavery Societies, World's Fairs, but the offspring of this Truth? What was Mr. Webster's declaration to Bocanegra, of the right of the world to interfere to suppress wanton cruelty in a war between two nations—what, his Hulsemann letter, asserting the just claims of Democracy—what, the instruction of Mr. Clayton, when Secretary of State, to Mr. Mann, in relation to the contest in Hungary—what, the speech of Mr. Webster, in favor of Hungarian Liberty, at the Kossuth banquet in Washington—what, the popular demonstration in this country, of sympathy, when Poland, and Greece, and France, and Hungary, and Italy, struggled for Freedom—what, the eloquence of the lamented Clay in behalf of the South American Republics, when striving for their new-born independence—what, but emanations from this great Truth, and evidences of its power?

The *Union*, in its denunciations of the Anti-Slavery movement in Great Britain, sets itself against the civilization of the age, repudiates the fundamental idea of Progress, rebukes the noblest patriotism not the country, and gives its sanction to the principle and policy of national isolation, as recognised by Japan, a country which "Young America" has resolved shall be brought within the circle of international affinities and sympathies.

"Young America" must forswear all his principles, or gracefully recognise the right of the Old World to protest against the wrong institutions of the New—just as the New World claims the right to protest against the wrong institutions of the Old.

For the National Era.

THE HERO.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

"Oh! for a knight like Bayard,
Without reproach or fear!
My light glove on his casque of steel,
My love-knot on his spear!

"Oh! for the white plume floating
Sad Zutphen's field above—
The lion heart in battle,
The woman's heart in love!

"Oh! that man once more were manly,
Woman's pride, and not her scorn;
That one more the pale young mother
Dared to boast, 'a man is born!'

"But, now life's slumberous current
No sun-bow'd cascade wakes;
No tall, heroic manhood
The level dullness breaks.

"Oh! for a knight like Bayard,
Without reproach or fear!
My light glove on his casque of steel,
My love-knot on his spear!"

Then I said, my own heart throbbing
To the tune her proud pulse beat,
"Life hath its regal natures yet—
True, tender, brave, and sweet!

"Smile not, fair unbeliever!
One man, at least, I know,
Who might wear the crest of Bayard,
Or Sidney's plume of snow.

"Once, when over purple mountains
Died away the Grecian sun,
And the far Cyllenian ranges
Faded and darkened, one by one—

"Fell the Turk, a bolt of thunder,
Cleaving all the quiet sky,
And against the sharp steel lightnings
Stood the Suliote but to die.

"Woe for the weak and halting!
The crescent blazed behind
A curving line of sabres,
Like fire before the wind!

"Last to fly and first to rally
Rode he of whom I speak,
When, gleaming, in his bridle-path
Sank down a wounded Greek,

"With the rich Albanian costume,
Wet with many a ghastly stain,
Gazing on earth and sky as one
Who might not gaze again!

"He looked forward to the mountains,
Back on foes that never spare,
Then flung him from his saddle,
And placed the stranger there.

"'Allah! ha!' Through flashing sabres,
Through a stormy hail of lead,
The good Thessalian charger
Up the slopes of olives sped.

"Not spurred the turbaned riders;
He almost felt their breath,
Where a mountain stream rolled darkly down
Between the hills and death.

"One brave and manful struggle—
He gained the solid land,
And the cover of the mountains
And the earlhines of his hand!"

"It was very great and noble,"
Said the moist-eyed listener then,
"But one brave deed makes no hero;
Tell me what he since hath been!"

"Still a brave and generous manhood,
Still an honor without stain,
In the prison-cell of Spielhurg,
By the barricades of Seine.

"But dream not helm and harness
Sole sign of valor true;
Peace hath stormer trials of manhood
Than battle ever knew.

"With the Plague angel wrestling
For the secret of his wrath,
That from Ganges to the Nevva
Had marked with graves his path.

"Would ist know him now? Behold him,
The Cadmus of the blind,
Giving the dumb lip language,
The idiot clay a mind.

"Walking his round of duty
Serenely day by day,
With the strong man's hand of labor
And childhood's heart of play.

"True as the knights of story,
Sir Lancelot and his peers,
Brave in his calm endurance
As they in tilt of spears.

"As waves in stillest waters,
As stars in noonday skies,
All that wakes to noble action
In his noon of calmness lies.

"Wherever outraged Nature
Asks word or action brave,
Wherever struggling labor,
Wherever groans a slave—

"Wherever rise the peoples,
Wherever man is stone,
The throbbing heart of Freedom finds
An answer in his own.

"Knight of a better era,
Without reproach or fear!
Said I not well that Bayards
And Sidneys still are here?"

THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE DEMOCRACY.

The editors of the Washington *Union* having been elected printers to Congress, and claiming to conduct the Central Organ of the National Democracy, are proving their admirable fitness for both offices, by daily defences of Slavery, and denunciations of its opponents. In this way they manifest their intense nationality and democracy.

We also observe, that while they indignantly repudiate English interference with the Slavery Question, it is only when such interference is on the side of Freedom. English interference for Slavery, they hail with exultation. Let but an article against Abolition appear in the columns of the London *Times*, and it is sure to re-appear in the *Union*. The other day, in an editorial two columns long it presented the substance of some letters in favor of Slavery, by an Englishman named Ansted, who seemed to be enchanted with the beauties of the patriarchal system. The *Union* intimates that could such letters but determine the sentiment of England, "the *entente cordiale* between the two countries would not be disturbed." Foreign intermeddling, then, is deprecated by the *Union* only when it is against Slavery. But if all the newspapers and reviews of England could be enlisted on the side of Slavery, what sweet fraternal feelings would spring up between John Bull and Brother Jonathan!

DOMESTIC SUMMARY.

There are Whigs throughout the country, acting from the force of habit, who still seem to think that there is a Whig organization. We have seen them lately battling in Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts; in the municipal elections in New York, and elsewhere, they are running their candidates; and in Tennessee, and several Southern States, they manifest a purpose to keep up their organization. The *New York Tribune* discourages these movements. It considers the Whig party "not only defeated, but undone;" ceasels to its submit to its doom, and resolve itself into its original elements, on the ground that Whigs, acting simply as American citizens, individually, can accomplish a great deal more good than in association as a distinct party.

Meantime, the Free or Independent Democrats are busily at work, regarding themselves as a growing party. The increase of their vote in New Hampshire, from 6,400 this fall to 8,200 this spring, they view as a most encouraging indication. Connecticut, too, which gave Hale three thousand votes last fall, gives Gillette, this spring, for Governor, between eight and nine thousand. This increase, caused in part by the Temperance excitement, shows what a vote the Independent Democracy may command, when people begin to expect to accomplish something by voting.

In Ohio, the party is in earnest; Mr. Lewis, its gubernatorial candidate, has taken the field with his accustomed energy, and there is no reason why the friends of freedom there may not be at least the second party, and hold the balance of power in the Legislature.

In Indiana, they are organizing Independent Democratic clubs, with a view to systematic and continuous action upon the public mind; and in Pennsylvania, Maine, and Wisconsin, State Conventions have been called.

In Michigan, the Independent or Free Democracy elects supervisors in the counties of Kalamazoo, Jackson, Calhoun, and Branch; in Illinois they are holding spirited indignation meetings, all over the State, against the late Slave Act of the Legislature; in Ohio they have chosen their candidate for mayor, in Granville, by a majority of forty-two over the Whigs, and five over the Democrats, and their township ticket in Elyria; in Wisconsin, at Kenosha, they have elected their candidate for mayor, C. C. Sholes, and in Illinois they have succeeded in several township elections.

Mr. Buchannan, lately appointed Minister to England, a Power which is supposed to entertain views in relation to Cuba somewhat adverse to those of our Government, conducted the correspondence in which Mr. Sanders was instructed to offer $100,000,000 for the purchase of that island. He is known to be in favor of its acquisition. Mr. Soulé stands committed to the policy of annexation, not by purchase, for against this he protested, but by some kind of arrangement which shall appeal to the interest, without offending the pride, of Spain. He is appointed Minister to Madrid, much to the vexation of the Spanish Minister at Washington; and the *Tribune* states, "on unquestionable authority," that he had declared that he would not accept the mission, unless "he were allotted full power to negotiate for the acquisition of the island." So this annexation scheme is to constitute a leading measure of the Administration.

Southern papers quote our testimony to the soundness of Mr. Marcy on the Slavery Question as absolutely conclusive. Mr. Marcy claims, if we understand him, to have laid the slave-holding States under special obligations. Without his offors, there would have been no re-union between the Hunkers and Barnburners in New York; without the re-union, the Barnburners, whom he acknowledges to be by far the more powerful and truly Democratic section of the New York Democracy, would have led off in the organization of a Democratic party at the North, on the basis of the Buffalo Platform, which would have been perfectly irresistible. The prevention of this he claims as his special work, for which he is entitled to the peculiar gratitude and confidence of slaveholders.

Mr. McClelland, Secretary of the Interior, was a Wilmot Proviso man, during the agitation of the questions of Territorial Freedom. When the Three Million bill was under discussion in the House of Representatives, February 13, 1847, he said:

"Gentlemen inquire what authority we have to exclude their property from this Territory. The answer is easily given: we do not attempt it. Slaves, in the contemplation of the Constitution, are not property, but persons. The authority for excluding aliens and free blacks applies, as well as to slaves. We have the power of prohibiting any persons, not citizens, from emigrating and settling there. That slaves are not property or merchandise may be considered as fully settled."

"I prefer California free soil, and in all probability will have, and it should be free. Besides other considerations, it is far better adapted to the pursuits of Northern men than to slave labor. Then why exclude free labor? Admit the slave, and you expel the free laborer; for it is folly to think that our Northern men will emigrate to the most inviting territory in the world, where they know they will be compelled to labor side by side with the slave."

His vote is also recorded in the affirmative, in support of the amendment, commonly known as the Wilmot Proviso, moved by Mr. Wilmot, to the Three Million bill. We always regarded him, when he was in Congress, as a sincere and consistent opponent of Slavery and Slavery extension, and we have never seen any vote or word of his since, indicating a retraction of the views he then held. Why did Mr. Pierce appoint him? Mr. McClelland was the special friend of Mr. Cass, but he supported and voted for General Pierce; and this the General accepts as proof conclusive of his genuine National Democracy.

The Virginia Legislature, before adjourning, passed a bill, appropriating $42,000, to be applied to removing free colored persons from the State to Liberia, providing that a portion of it shall be raised by a poll-tax of one dollar on free colored males, and a tax on seals attached to registers of freedom; in other words, compelling the poor to contribute to the expenses of their banishment

The Legislature of New York, having continued its session till the period beyond which the members could receive pay *per diem*, adjourned, although the important business before it was undisposed of. According to announcement, the Governor immediately called an extra session, so that the business may be attended to. Members of course receive their *per diem* through an extra session. Patriotism has no idea of work without pay.

The Canadian Parliament, anticipating the favorable action of Congress on the Reciprocity question, is about reducing the Tariff on various American articles.

The San Juan difficulty has been amicably settled; and the Mexican Government has ratified a treaty, granting the right of way to citizens of this country for a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. So the clouds are passing away on our Southern border.

The *South Side* (Va.) *Democrat* devotes a long article to the subject of Cuban annexation, urging the measure strongly and hopefully, with full confidence in the policy of General Pierce. It ridicules the idea that the sugar planters of Louisiana can be injured by the competition to which such a measure would subject them, quoting from De Bow's Review to show that the Louisiana sugar is superior to the Cuban in quality, richness, and relative quantity. But were this not the fact, the *Democrat* wishes to know with what decency a few planters in Louisiana could oppose a measure that would add so greatly to Southern Power.

The *National Democrat*, of New York, says that "General Dix not only accepts the Fugitive Slave Law, but has publicly advocated it as a fair and necessary compromise." If he has done so, the speech can of course be produced. We have never seen it: why does not the *Democrat* quote the thing in black and white? Until this be done, we shall regard its statement as apocryphal.

A new road has been discovered to California, of which Col. Miles, 3d infantry of United States, now in New Mexico, says: "A now pass has been discovered from Albuquerque, 75 miles from Santa Fe, to San Francisco, in California, a *journey of twenty-five days for loaded wagons*." He proposes that the troops open the road and locate four posts on it. It is on the direct line from Fort Smith.

Immediately after the destruction of the Ursuline Convent in Massachusetts, a law was passed to provide remuneration for losses sustained thereafter by similar acts of violence. From time to time it has been proposed to remunerate the owners of the Convent, but the fear that a special provision of this *ex post facto* charter might be used as an inconvenient precedent, has restrained the Legislature. During the session of Congress, a bill for relief passed to a third reading, however, but it has just been defeated in the House, in consequence of being encumbered with several amendments, making provision for similar acts of past violence. This is greatly to be regretted. The State owes protection to the citizen, and redress of injuries inflicted upon him, in defiance of its laws.

Carvajal is operating again on our Southern frontier. He is evidently encouraged by some of our own people. He intrigued with the Texan Rangers before their discharge, so that they were no sooner out of service than they enrolled themselves under his banner, and about fifty of them, under a Major Noland, from the American side, lately made a descent upon Reynosa, and strung up the Alcalde until he consented to make them a contribution.

Our Government ought to put a stop to these piratical proceedings; they disgrace the country, and naturally embitter the Mexicans against us.

The Rev. John Angell James has not got his eyes open to the Anti-Christian tendencies of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, so piously bewailed by the New York *Observer*. In a beautiful letter to Mrs. Stowe, complimenting her work, he says: "You have taught the world by a new lesson how man is to be reformed and governed, even when sunk, by oppression and by crime, into the lowest depth of degradation, by the omnipotence of God."

The Paris correspondent of the New Orleans (La.) *Christian Advocate*, also says in a letter dated February 26th, "Whatever be the opinion on slavery, it will be acknowledged that this work has done one good in France, viz: it has *awakened a desire in many minds to read the Bible*. Colporteurs have reported lately that the question has been put to them whether their Bibles were the same as Uncle Tom's, and when the affirmative answer has been made, the Bible has been bought at once." How thankful the New York *Observer* must feel!

The Nashville *True Whig* is delighted with our comments upon the proceedings of the three conventions of Ohio—Democratic, Independent Democratic, and Whig—and points to the conservative ground assumed by the Whig party of Ohio, as an example to the Whigs of Tennessee, and encouragement to them to maintain their position. It dreads the "Free Soil" affinities of the Democracy of the North.

The Washington correspondent of the *South Side* (Va.) *Democrat*, a warm Pierce paper, says that the declension of Mr. Dickenson of his appointment to the Collectorship of New York was the result of a belief on his part, and that of his friends, that he has now a fair prospect of a Presidential nomination in 1856—a prospect founded on his Southern friends. Hence their anxiety to keep up the dissensions in New York State, so as to maintain his prominence before the South.

The Richmond (Va.) *Examiner* in its passion for throwing stones, sometimes hits its friends. Referring to Charles Beecher's report on the subject of "Spiritual Rapping," it says—

"An old proverb declares that birds of a feather flock together; and though it does not always follow that a man who is a fool on one topic is invariably a fool on all others, yet it is more frequently the case than otherwise. Certain it is, that when a man is seen to be a ready and credulous ear to one new fangled absurdity, he will be exceedingly apt to do so in favor of all others."

It ought to be known that when the Rappers were here during the session of Congress, the gentlemen most profoundly interested in their exercises were generally from the South. The chivalry of South Carolina were specially favored with communications, holding high converse with Calhoun, Hayne, and other departed heroes.

The *Richmond* (Va.) *Whig* is tickled at the idea of the disappointment the English people will feel on seeing Mrs. Stowe. It is mightily consoled at being informed that she is "a very ungainly, coarse, vulgar-looking woman, with a long peaked nose, through which she speaks—an abomination in the eyes and ears of all civilized people." The refined gallantry of these papers is equal to their nice criticism. Uncle Tom's Cabin has suffered as much from the one as its author is likely to be disturbed by the other.

Father Gavazzi is denounced by the *New York Courier & Inquirer* for assailing Popery, and Mrs. Stowe for assailing Slavery. Both, it contends, do no good, but much harm—the one by fanning the flame of sectional excitement, the other by aggravating sectarian prejudice; and both, it is sure, only strengthens what they assail. The philosophy of the *Courier* is, that the only right way to remove an evil, or reform an abuse, is to *let it alone*; that the sure way to spread light is to put it under a bushel; that if you would put a stop to any wrong thing, you must never oppose it; that to do nothing is the true secret of the world's progress. To expose the abuses of Popery is to aggravate them; to denounce the wrongs of Slavery is to perpetuate them; to proclaim the woes of Intemperance is to spread them; to war against a corrupt Government is to strengthen it; to preach Truth anywhere, in any form, against Error, is to perpetuate the latter, and injure the former. Who can doubt the wisdom of such a teacher?

The *Washington Union* publishes an article from the *Providence Post*, exulting over the late Democratic victory in Rhode Island. The Free or Independent Democrats cast about six hundred votes; but they would have done much better, had not all the candidates on the Democratic ticket been Anti-Slavery men. Our Southern friends must not overlook this fact. Mr. Thurston, Democratic candidate from the western district, has always been recognised as a friend of Freedom, ready at all times, when any practical issue arose in Congress between Slavery and Freedom, to record his vote against the former. Mr. Davis, elected from the eastern district, had been known for many years as a consistent, genuine, and an active Abolitionist. The *Free Democrat* says, that to him probably, as much as to any one man in Rhode Island, the present Free Democratic organization in that State owes its existence:

"He it was, who did so much in ploughing up the sterile soil, and sowing the seed and maturing that harvest which, we trust, will soon be ripe for the ingathering. We can testify to his faithfulness as an officer of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society; to the wisdom of his counsels; to his fidelity to the slaves; to the liberality of his contributions for carrying forward the Anti-Slavery cause, both in this State and in the neighboring Commonwealths."

He preferred to be nominated by the Old Line Democracy, and hence the nomination of another candidate by the Independent Democrats. His election is equivalent to a repudiation of the Baltimore platform.

General James N. Bethune has started a paper at Columbus, Georgia, called the *Corner Stone*, for the avowed purpose of advocating a dissolution of the Union—believing that the General Government is administered solely for the benefit of the North, and that the union of the two sections "is evil, only evil, and that continually."

Death at last completed its work with William R. King, Vice President of the United States. He died on the evening of the 18th, at his residence in Selma, Alabama. He was a Representative in Congress from North Carolina, from 1811 to 1816; then Secretary of Legation to Russia; next Senator from Alabama, from 1819 to 1845; then Minister Plenipotentiary to France; again Senator from 1849 to 1853, closing his career as Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Stanly, late a Representative in Congress from North Carolina, is in Washington, on his way to California, where he intends to reside, and follow his profession. We do not believe he will give countenance to the conspiracy to plant Slavery in that new State.

The sailors remember their benefactor. A few days since, Mr. Hale, who succeeded in having an act passed prohibiting flogging in the navy, was invited to visit the U. S. sloop-of-war Germantown, by Commander Nicholson. The crew was mustered, and he made a short speech. The sailors cheered him most vehemently. According to Commander Nicholson, his crew "gets along" admirably without the lash.

Maryland is too much under Papal influence. A bill, now under consideration in the Legislature, to divide the school fund—in other words, to break up the present common school system, and make appropriation for the support of sectarian schools—is exciting much feeling in Baltimore. Recently an immense meeting, to protest against it, was held in the Maryland Institute.

The Baltimore correspondent of the *Republic*, in a letter dated the 19th, says that Father Gavazzi, the famous Italian patriot, formerly a Catholic priest, has been refused the use of the Mechanics' Institute in that city, and that there would probably be much excitement at his lectures, which were to be delivered in Temperance Hall. Have we a Tuscany in this country? Has the Pope of Rome suppressed freedom of discussion in Baltimore?

Governor Cobb has written a letter to a gentleman in Georgia, advising the breaking up of the Union party, and the reorganization of the old Democratic party. The Union party having made him Governor, and Mr. Toombs Senator, has of course done its work, fulfilling that whereunto it was appointed.

We notice in the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, a very kind response to our late article on the subject of the Independent Democracy and Free Trade, &c. It presents no new fact or argument; and our views remain unchanged. If the Free or Independent Democratic party would secure the confidence of the People and the control of the Government, it must form and declare its views on every question of legislation in which the People are interested, and these views must be in harmony with its fundamental principle—*equality of rights*. The policy of evasion or non-committalism, which it has always condemned in the old parties, it will hardly adopt for itself.

The *Commercial*, of Lavaca, Texas, Saturday, March 26, contained the following editorial notice:

"We learn from a gentleman, just in from the West, that a couple of negroes, belonging to Mr. Lott on the San Antonio river, stole two of the best horses he had on his plantation, some ten or twelve days ago, and made off for Mexico. They succeeded in making their way to the neighborhood of Brownsville, when they were overtaken by a party of United States soldiers, who ordered them to surrender; they refused to do so, and, manifesting a disposition to resist any attempt that might be made by the soldiers to retake them, were immediately shot down.

"The killing of the negroes has been a serious loss to Mr. Lott, as they were two of the most valuable hands he had upon his place."

Are United States soldiers paid for catching runaway negroes? Is it the business of the officers of the army stationed on our Texan frontier, to play the part of overseers to the planters? And if this be so, are the slaves under military rule, and to be shot down, like brutes, at the pleasure of the soldiery? The comment of the editor of the paper is characteristic. He is not shocked at the murder of the slaves, but grieved at the loss of the master! "The killing of the negroes has been a serious loss to Mr. Lott." We shall not be surprised to see a claim submitted by Mr. Lott to the next Congress for damages! This paragraph from the *Commercial* will go to Europe in the same mail which carries denunciations of Uncle Tom's Cabin as a libel on our institutions!

The *New Orleans Crescent* gives an interesting account of a lad of thirteen, held as a slave, who appeared a few days since in the Recorder's office of the First District, and claimed his freedom. His name is Francisco Robella; he is said to be a fine intelligent fellow, with a fair complexion, straight hair, and every indication of being descended from a pure lineage. His story is, that he is a native of Paraguay, the son of an officer in the Brazilian army; that about five years ago he was kidnapped by the captain of a vessel bound for the United States, carried to Baltimore, sold there as a slave, whence he was taken to New Orleans, and purchased by a Mr. Maynard, who had taken a private act of sale as evidence of his title, of which, however, he held only a copy, the original having been lost. The Brazilian consul has resolved to have the case thoroughly investigated. If the boy has been kidnapped, the country is interested in knowing who that captain is.

Ex-Governor Smith, of Virginia, is a candidate for Congress in the Fauquier district, on his own responsibility. He repudiates Conventions; styles them necessary evils in some cases, but holds that in a district so decidedly Democratic as his own, they ought not to be submitted to. The *South Side* (Va.) *Democrat*, much as it admires the Ex-Governor, chides him for this rebellious demonstration, tells him that to Conventions the Democracy in Virginia, as elsewhere, owes its ascendency, and hopes that unless he conform to the old party usage, he may be left at home. By the way, the Ex-Governor was lately figuring in California, acting, if we are not misinformed, with that tribe of politicians who are seeking an outlet for Slavery on the Pacific coast. Has he been disappointed? Was he overruled in his pretensions for office in the new State?

The *Hagerstown* (Md.) *News* says that the whole number of slaves in Washington county, of that State, is 1,788, valued at $317,000—or an average of $177.50 each. The *News* remarks that the slaves, since 1841, have decreased one-half in number and value.

The validity of the law of South Carolina, imprisoning free colored seamen entering the port of Charleston, is about being tested—the British consul having brought an action against the sheriff of Charleston, to recover $4,000 for the false imprisonment of Manuel Pereira, a colored British subject. We would remind the reader that Duff & Blanchard, printers, in Washington, have just issued a volume entitled "*Manuel Pereira*," by Mr. Adams, of Georgia, in which the incidents of the seizure and imprisonment of this sailor are worked up into a very interesting narrative.

Col. Gilbert, of Jackson parish, Louisiana, has been committed to jail, on the charge of having murdered a Mr. John Bryant. Bryant was the only witness against Gilbert, in a criminal action of "unmentionable nature," which was to be tried a week after the day on which the murder was perpetrated. He was ploughing, when he was shot in the back from behind a fence, and his son, a boy of twelve years of age, who happened to be with him, testifies that he saw Gilbert commit the deed. The *North Louisianian*, published at Bathrop, Louisiana, remarks:

"For the present, public feeling is very strong against Gilbert; *but as he is well off, and makes about 100 bales of cotton, it is not likely that he will suffer more than temporary inconvenience. Such has been our experience in North Louisiana!*"

This is a painful testimony. Bryant, it seems, was a working man, and Gilbert a wealthy planter.

It is apprehended that there will be this year a scarcity of provisions at the South. The *Cotton Plant* says that nearly the whole "force" of the South will be thrown into the cotton culture. If this be so, the probable consequences will be, a fall in the price of cotton, and a rise in the price of provisions.

The daily papers in Washington publish a correspondence between Colonel Benton and Mr. Davis, Secretary of War, in which the Colonel suggests the employment of Mr. Beale, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in California, and Colonel Fremont, in the reconnoissance of routes for a great road to the Pacific. Mr. Davis replies, that in consequence of the great pressure upon his time since his entering upon the duties of his office, he has not yet taken up the subject. He promises, however, so soon as the subject shall come up, carefully to examine the views submitted by Colonel Benton, and before any final action, to have a personal interview with him in reference to it.

Mr. Borland having declined the appointment of Governor of New Mexico, has accepted that of Minister to Central America.

There is many a slip between the cup and the lip. Mr. Slidell, after all, may miss being Senator, as the Democratic members of the Legislature of Louisiana have refused to hold a caucus for the nomination of a Senatorial candidate, and both Houses have agreed upon a resolution to adjourn the 2d of May.

A telegraphic despatch announces the loss of the steamer Independence, on her way from San Juan to San Francisco, on the 10th of February. It is supposed that she took fire during a storm, and that an unsuccessful attempt was made to run ashore on Margaretta island. The flames spread rapidly, the boats were swamped, the powder magazine was blown up, and nearly two hundred of her five hundred passengers were lost.

The official returns of the late election in Connecticut show 8,924 votes for Gillette, P. Dem.; 30,814 for Seymour, Dem.; and 20,871 for Dutton, Whig. The aggregate vote for the Independent Democratic candidate for Congress was 3,328.

Hereafter the single rate of letter postage between the United States and Brazil, *via* England, will be 45 cents instead of 87—pre-payment required; and to Java, *via* Southampton, 45 cents for less half an ounce.

Despatches from New Orleans report that Gov. Lane of New Mexico had issued a proclamation claiming Morella valley as a portion of American territory. Col. Sumner, who was ordered by him to proceed and take possession of it, refused to obey the order on the ground that it was Mexican territory, and several hundred Mexican troops had been dispatched with orders to resist any attempt by the Americans to enforce the claim of the Governor.

FREE DEMOCRACY IN IOWA.

LINN COUNTY.—A Convention of the Free Democracy of this county was held at the court house in Marion, on the first day of April, and was organized by electing Allison I. Willits president, and Robert Smyth secretary. A committee of five was appointed to draft a constitution for the Free Democratic Association of Linn County, auxiliary to the Free Democratic Association of the State of Iowa.

"On motion, the Convention proceeded to the election of officers for the ens

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE METROPOLITAN. A Monthly Magazine. Baltimore, Md.: John Murphy & Co.

This is a very handsome monthly, edited by a clergyman, and "devoted to Religion, Education, Literature, and General Information." It is an organ of the Roman Catholic Church, and all its literature is identified with the religion of that church. Our Protestant monthlies or newspapers not unfrequently so completely ignore all religion, that it might be doubted whether their editors had ever heard of Christianity. But the Catholic carries his religion with him everywhere, and his views and politics are controlled by it. The Metropolitan does not like Mrs. Stowe: Uncle Tom's Cabin, it admits, is "a fascinating book," but it seems to consider it little better than Pandora's box.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF MEDICINE. By Henry T. Johnson, M. D. Philadelphia. Issued monthly, at $2.50 a year.

The work, we believe, is an exponent of the Botanico-Medical theory. It divides all agencies, brought to act upon the system in a state of disease, into two classes—those which act in harmony with nature, aiding the powers of the living system, and those which oppose nature, and, by weakening, impairing, and reducing the constitution, plant the seeds of disease deeply and securely in the living system. The first class it styles innocent—the second class, poisonous. Alas! who shall tell us what agencies are always poisonous, what always innocent? The doctors, of course; they know all about it; but, unfortunately, they have not yet agreed.

BUCHANAN'S JOURNAL OF MAN. March, 1853. Cincinnati, Ohio.

We always find in this Journal some novel and curious speculations and researches. In the number before us, there is a careful article by the editor, comparing the Gallian system of Phrenology and the Neurological system, and presenting the characteristic features of the latter.

THE HORTICULTURIST, and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste. Rochester, N. Y.: P. Barnes.

A very neatly printed and well edited Horticultural Journal, published monthly, at two dollars a year.

THE FREE-WILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY. Conducted by an Association. April, 1853. Providence, R. I.: Williams, Day, & Co.

The second number fulfills the promise of the first. One of the most noticeable articles is a review of Fowler on Religion, natural and revealed. The just claims of Phrenology are acknowledged, but Mr. Fowler is pretty severely handled.

THE ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE OF ART. April, 1853. New York: Alexander Montgomery.

This is really a meritorious work. The publisher seems determined to spare no pains to make it what its name purports. Many of the engravings are exquisite.

Single copy, 25 cents—yearly subscription, three dollars.

AGNES SOREL, a Novel. By G. P. R. James. New York: The Harpers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

Another novel from the pen of James, intended to be a picture of certain characters of the fifteenth century, "dressed somewhat in the garb of the times, and moved by those springs of action" which influenced men in that age.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. April, 1853. J. McClintock, D. D. Editor. New York: Carlton & Phillips. For sale by Gray & Ballantyne, 7th st., Washington, D. C.

This number abounds in good articles on subjects of general interest—among them, Geographical Statistical Science, Japan and the Japanese, Vestiges of Civilization, the Eclipse of Faith, &c. The short review and notices of new publications are, as usual, pertinent and discriminative.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury: Washington, D. C.

There is a good deal of light, pleasant entertainment in this number. One or two articles are devoted to graver topics. The Peace Societies, Elihu Burritt and his Olive Leaves are handled rather roughly. The writer is anything but a non-resistant, and we trust he avow our sympathy with him in the present state of things, when Might everywhere is lording it over Right.

A little muscular effort is a great help to moral suasion, in abating Despotism and Oppression.

MEDICAL MORALS. By George Gregory. New York: Published by the Author.

This little pamphlet, with its illustrations, is well calculated to awaken a public sentiment in favor of the education of women in the obstetrical art, so that they may be fully qualified to minister to the peculiar wants of their sex.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE. April, 1853. For sale by Franck Taylor, Penn. avenue, Washington, D. C.

This magazine has reached a circulation of 115,000, and is still increasing. The number before us is full of good matter, and contains the closing part of a piquant article on Crusoe Life, or a Narrative of Adventure in the Island of Juan Fernandez; from the pen of J. Ross Browne, the author of that delightful book, Yusef, or a Crusade in the East.

RUTH. A Novel. By the Author of Mary Barton. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. For sale by Taylor & Maury.

We have rarely read so true a story—that is, a story of whose truth we found so little ground for question, as this. The characters are such veritable men and women; the incidents are of such every day probability, and the whole movement of the story is so natural, so real, that one almost forgets he is reading, and sees it *lived* out before him. It is not a brilliant book, nor a romantic book; the author has cultivated thought rather than style. It is a simple history of the heroic life of a poor, beautiful, parentless girl, who, seduced and abandoned at sixteen—being shown the true path—works her way to Heaven in spite of the persecution and scorn of the heartless world of ours. *

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MRS. STOWE AND HER NEW BOOK.

A KEY TO UNCLE TOM'S CABIN. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. Boston: Published by Jewett & Co. For sale at the office of the National Era, by Lewis Clephane, and by the booksellers generally.

One long-promised book is at last published. It embodies the original facts and documents upon which Uncle Tom's Cabin was based, and forms a volume of 262 pages. We were among those who were inclined to doubt the expediency of such a work. The story spoke for itself, and its truthfulness was attested by the heart of Humanity. Admit the possession of absolute power, such as the Slave Code confers on the master, and just such consequences must follow as are portrayed in Mrs. Stowe's novel. No man who understands what human nature is, and knows how to reason, and is not warped by prejudice, will deny this. He who does deny it, will scarcely be convinced by any documentary evidence that can be produced. He will raise precisely the same objections to the facts that he raised against the representations in the story—namely, that they are so constructed and arrayed as to convey a false impression. For this reason, and because we apprehended that the collection of such facts and documents as could be easily collected and submitted to the Public, might arouse the bitter antagonism of the South, and close its heart to the more winning appeals of Mrs. Stowe through her fictitious narrative, we could have wished that she had let her assailants contradict and silence themselves, and given us another work of the class to which Uncle Tom's Cabin belongs. And this we know would have been more in accordance with her taste. She says, with great truth we doubt not, that "this work is one which has been written with no pleasure, and with much pain. In fictitious writing, it is possible to find refuge from the horrid and the terrible, by indulging sweeter and calmer hours of more pleasing nature. No such resource is open in the work of fact, and the subject of this work is one on which the truth, if told at all, must needs be very dreadful. There is no bright side to Slavery, *as such*. Those scenes which are made bright by the generosity and kindness of masters and mistresses would be brighter still if the element of Slavery were withdrawn. There is nothing picturesque or beautiful in the Slavery which I saw of old servants, which is not to be found in countries where these servants are legally free. * * * * Slavery, therefore, is not the element which forms the picturesque and beautiful of Southern life."

MRS. STOWE was aware that if she did not undertake a work of this sort, somebody else would; and she preferred to do it herself, rather than have it done in an intolerant and a severe spirit. She has discharged what she considered her duty, with fidelity, ability, and kindness. She demonstrates her accurate knowledge of the law of Slavery, and her familiarity with its practical workings. There is not a character in Uncle Tom's Cabin for which she does not find a counterpart, not an incident for which she does not present a parallel. It is sheer nonsense to question the facts and documents she submits; for the accompanying evidence is such, that if slaveholders assail it, they but repudiate their own testimony. Throughout the work, she takes every legitimate occasion to relieve the dark picture, by bringing out what is noble in Southern character and institutions. Her war is not with the Southern People, but on a system which is intrinsically barbarous and exceptional among the institutions of our country. She assumes for human nature in the North no superior virtue. She does not sit in judgment upon character, but upon institutions; and by an array of facts not to be questioned, furnished by slaveholders themselves, she demonstrates that all, that is peculiar to Slavery, as distinguishing it from free labor, is "evil, and only evil, and that continually."

And is this surprising? Have the American People yet to learn that Freedom is the right of man, and the necessary condition to Progress? That Slavery is a state of violence, degrading to human nature, and an obstacle to all progress? That Free Labor is a blessing, and Slave Labor a curse? Can any American, who has not forgotten that our Fathers rebelled against the British Government because it asserted the right—not to convert them into property, but—to appropriate to its own use a portion of their property, without their consent, and justified their rebellion by affirming the equal rights of all men to life, liberty, property, and happiness, deny that the Law which subjects one man to the will, and for the paramount benefit of, another, making not only his earnings but himself, body and soul, the property of that other, is and must be, "evil, only evil, and that continually?" And yet, for proclaiming and proving this truth, Mrs. Stowe will fall under the bitterest maledictions of a portion of her countrymen. She will be charged with fanaticism, with bigotry, with want of patriotism, with treason against the Union; fanaticism, because she believes Despotism a sin against God and man; bigotry, because she believes Slave Labor is evil, and Free Labor good; hatred of her country, because she seeks her country's advancement by the removal of her country's curse; treason against the Union, because she has devoted her noblest energies to the overthrow of the one great Evil that disturbs its harmony and jeopardizes its existence.

But she can afford to be abused. The very ferocity of her enemies bears witness to her power; the world acknowledges her genius, and oppressed, down-trodden Humanity everywhere will rise up and call her blessed. She will live, her fame forever brightening, and her good deeds bearing fruit forever, while the miscreants who now ruthlessly assail her shall be reaping their reward, with the Neros and Haynaus of mankind, in the execrations of posterity.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

We have neglected to notice the recent improvements of this valuable journal. It has been greatly enlarged, put in new and beautiful type, and is now printed on paper which costs more money than the publishers receive for it after it is printed. Of course, they depend upon their vast advertising patronage for compensation and profit. It presents a strong corps of editors—Greeley, Pike, Davis, Taylor, Ripley, and Snow. All its department are handsomely provided for; its correspondence is rich and varied.

We differ from the *Tribune* on many points—in relation, for example, to the true functions of Government, and to the true method of political action. Besides, it seems to us that it is sometimes inconsistent, sometimes prejudiced, occasionally rude; but it is very able, very industrious, very vigilant, very bold, very humane; so that while we dislike it for some things, we like it greatly for many more things, and sincerely wish that its noble spirit of enterprise may be amply rewarded.

"FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE."

We again call attention to the Prospectus of *Facts for the People*. Let returns be made immediately. The project appears to be received with great favor, but individual effort is required to give it success. Let the clubs be sent in forthwith. We repeat, that we cannot send such a publication to *single* subscribers. By the way, the postage will amount to but six cents a year on each copy, paid in advance at the office where delivered to subscribers.

Come, friends, let us hear from you. We wish to know how many copies to issue on the 1st of June.

The Hartford (Conn.) *Republican* says of the *Facts for the People*—

"Precisely such a work is needed. It will more than take the place of tracts under the old system. His prices are, six copies for $1; twenty for $3; and one hundred for $12.

"Connecticut should take at least ten thousand copies of this document. Give the people light!"

The Chicopee *Gazette* says—

"By subscribe to the Prospectus, in another column, it will be seen that it is to be just such a publication as every Anti-Slavery man ought to have; and, as it is to be published for almost nothing, we hope it will have a circulation commensurate with the ability with which it will be edited."

The Ashtabula *Sentinel* says—

"The plan is a good one, and it is to be hoped that those interested in the diffusion of reliable information will be immediate in the agitation of the age, will make the project effective by meeting the proposition promptly. Let the people have the FACTS, and we are safe!"

RHODE ISLAND ELECTION.

The late election in Rhode Island has resulted in the success of the Democratic candidates for Governor and members of Congress, all of whom, it is understood, are of the school of Jefferson and Rantoul, and, of course, opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law.

Hon. Thomas Davis, the member elect from Providence district, we have long known as a radical and honest reformer. He detests Slavery as heartily as Gerrit Smith or Joshua R. Giddings. He will undoubtedly support the general policy of the Administration; but whenever a question arises between Freedom and Slavery, he will be found on the right side. Hon. B. B. Thurston, the other member, is understood to be opposed to the Anti-Democratic Fugitive Slave Law. J. G. W.

THE DAILY DEMOCRAT, is the title of a new Independent Democratic daily recently commenced at Detroit, Michigan, by S. H. Baker and Alex. Fox, Editors of the *Michigan Weekly Democrat*. It is vigorously conducted, and frankly maintains the principles of true Democracy. We hail the establishment of this paper as an indication of the healthful condition of the Free Democracy of Michigan.

RAILROAD RECORD, CINCINNATI, OHIO.—A new weekly, under this title, comes to us from Cincinnati, edited, we believe, by Professor Mansfield. It is intended to be a journal of Commerce, Internal Improvements and Statistics; and of the ability of Mr. Mansfield to make it in all these particulars a journal of great value and interest, no one who knows him can doubt.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

NEW YORK, *April* 29, 1853.

The steamer Arabia arrived here at an early hour this morning, having touched at Liverpool at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 9th instant.

England.—Queen Victoria had given birth to another son.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had submitted to Parliament an elaborate plan to reduce the national debt, by the conversion of the South sea minor stocks immediately, and consols and 3 per cents, into permanent 3½'s, by the issue of exchequer bonds, transferable by simple delivery and without cost.

The Australian gold fever is rapidly spreading over all Europe. Thousands are emigrating there from different countries—mostly from England and Ireland.

France.—Considerable excitement prevails in the French manufacturing cities, consequent on the rumor that the Emperor intends to modify the duties on cotton.

There are no open opposition to the action of the Government, with regard to the Turkish or Sardinian Governments, and no movements of importance mentioned.

Austria.—The Sardinian Minister had demanded his passports, Austria being peremptorily refused the demands of Sardinia, respecting the confiscation of the property of her subjects in Lombardy. Trade at Vienna was stagnant.

Italy.—The Pope had concluded a loan for 20,000,000 francs with the Rothschilds.

The Two Sicilies were very unsettled. No insurrection had occurred at Palermo, but executions were nevertheless taking place. The Sardinian Slave Trade Repression Bill had passed.

Turkey.—The adjustment of terms between Turkey and Russia progresses slowly.

Austria had sent a second note to Turkey complaining of the maltreatment of the Dalmatian Christians, to which the Porte has promised attention.

Belgium and Germany.—The Protestants of Holland are agitating against the establishment of a Catholic Hierarchy.

The King of Prussia had offered the Madiai family an asylum in his kingdom, but it is believed they will prefer England.

The Emperor is reported to have informed the Court of Accounts, that if the revenue continued to improve in the same ratio as now, he will soon be enabled to remit nearly 30,000,000 francs of land tax.

Prussia is accused by the foreign press with lukewarmness in her remonstrances with Austria, in favor of Piedmont.

Prussia.—Accounts from Berlin to the 4th announce that the treaty which reconstitutes Zollverein for twelve years, with the accession of Stencerverein, had been signed by all the plenipotentiaries. The commercial treaty of February 19th, between Austria and Prussia, also received their adhesion.

The discoveries made by the police, in arrests at Berlin, prove that the conspiracy was in close alliance with the Italians—one of which, the unsuccessful outbreak at Milan, was a manifestation.

Dr. Kinkel was deeply mixed up in the Berlin affair.

Austria.—Accounts from Vienna confirm former statements, that the refugee question between Great Britain and Austria had been settled, by Great Britain promising to keep close supervision over refugees in London, and subjecting them to prosecution whenever they make themselves amenable either to English or international law.

It is stated, on the authority of the Paris *Journal des Debats*, that Austria peremptorily refused the demands of Sadinia, relative to her naturalized citizens.

Eight persons were shot at Cronsgrad, Hungary, on the 19th, for drinking with three notorious robbers, and refusing to informing against them. A ninth person was shot at the same place, for abetting in the escape of another robber, by giving a false name to the gendarmerie.

Lombardy.—Accounts from Milan state that the rigors practised by the Austrian authorities begin to be very slowly relaxed. The public pleasures, without certain restrictions, to walk on the bastions during daylight.

The Two Sicilies.—Naples letters, of 27th, report society there in a very feverish state, although no actual outbreak occurred. Large numbers of persons are being quietly expatriated. The prisons are full, and yet arrests continued. The insurrection at Palermo, as reported via Genoa, appears to have been merely a small affray, in which some soldiers were stabbed, although the police pretended they had discovered in it a plot to assassinate the viceroy.

MARKETS.

Liverpool, April 9.—Wheat shows a decline of 2*d.* on last week. All circulars agree in quoting Genesee and Pennsylvania white at 8*s.* 6*d.*; mixed and red, 6*s.* 4*d.* a 6*s.* 9*d.* A decline of 1*s.* per barrel on flour, for all descriptions of flour, with considerable speculative business transacted. Prices on Friday, the 8th: Baltimore, 24*s.* 6*d.*; Philadelphia, 23*s.*; Ohio, 23*s.* 6*d.*; Western Canal, 21*s.* 6*d.* a 22*s.*; Indian corn—yellow scarce, and moderate demand at 31*s.* 6*d.*; white has receded 6*d.* a 1*s.* per quarter; sales at 29*s.*

FAMILIAR LETTERS FROM CUBA, JAMAICA, AND HAYTI.

BATABANO, CUBA, *March* 31.

To the Editor of the National Era:

"Non unus, mentes, agitat furor," all men are not mad in the same way, says Juvenal, speaking of the rash men who go to sea in search of gain. Perhaps, Mr. Editor, myself, Juvenal was "semper nauseator," in which case I don't wonder that peddling waves over which I have no control, gives him good ground for a commission de lunatico; and I am sure that if "concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas" seemed to him an insufficient inducement to incur the risks of a Levantine voyage, it never would have satisfied him as the plea of a man who should devote himself to a life on a sugar estate for that cause alone. Sugar planting, fattened by the Spanish on the principle of fattening the victims prior to a kill, has become the great remunerative crop of Cuba. My excellent host, who formerly planted coffee in the Vuelta Arriba, found himself obliged to change his business by the decline in the value of that product, and so transferred himself to the sugar estate which he now occupies in the Vuelta Abajo. As the only large sugar planter in a comparatively populous district, he enjoys a ready sale of his products on the spot, and, without sending anything to Havana, clears a fine per centage on his investment; but this cannot be the case with export, he is not obliged to adopt the modern expensive French machinery, which produces finer sugar at a higher cost. But the same causes which give him these pecuniary advantages deprive him of society. There are no persons in the neighborhood with whom he can associate, and he lives here a practical exile, relieved occasionally by a visit to the United States. He said to me once, "Nothing pleasant ever *happens* here, and the best news I can have, when I go out in the morning, is no news." But for the constant occupation he finds in attending to his estate, I should think his life would be an intolerable one. That occupation is indeed constant. The estate is a very large one—I should guess, from the score of hands—waving with the beautiful tall cane-plants; pastures full of pigs, mules, and horses; a steam-engine, to crush the life out of the canes, and two immense boilers to compress it into sugar, seventeen white men to superintend different departments, and 220 negroes of all work. They manufacture 25,600 pans of purged sugar per annum, each of 50 pounds of sugar to the pan, and some 400 pipes of aguardiente. This, as you see, is a rather large farm, and requires not a little attention. It is, in fact, a colony or small kingdom, of which the administrator no ordinary qualities of judgment and temper. And here, I have no doubt, I have seen agricultural slavery in its most tolerable aspects. The Frenchman who managed these combined of ——'s government are quite remarkable. Really believing that the whip is a necessity on the plantation, (just as you find intelligent officers of the army believe, who tell you it is a *necessity* in those services, and honest judges and clergymen who tell you hanging is a necessity in civil society,) really believing this, he confines the application of punishment wholly upon himself, allowing no negro to be sentenced or chastised, excepting by himself and under his own eye, after trial, and with the coolness of a judicial tribunal. And when you remember that what a slave has most to dread of all, is corporal suffering is that which may proceed from the passion of ignorant overseers, you will appreciate the sense of duty which is shown in this regulation. But the Cuban laws lay a rein upon the authority of the master in this matter of punishment, which, however loosely held by the Government, is drawn up with great force in case of extreme inhumanity. There is a master here above the masters, and this is one great element of superiority in the condition of the slave on this estate over that of his brethren on the main land. Another, of still greater price, is the law which gives him a hope in this world as well as in the next. Any slave may purchase his freedom, for a sum decided by arbitration; nor can his master refuse his offer. This fact alone would constitute an essential difference between American and Cuban slavery. Thousands are emigrating there from different countries—mostly from England and Ireland.

France.—Considerable excitement prevails in the French manufacturing cities, consequent on the rumor that the Emperor intends to modify the duties on cotton.

There are no open opposition to the action of the Government, with regard to the Turkish or Sardinian Governments, and no movements of importance mentioned.

Austria.—The Sardinian Minister had demanded his passports, Austria being peremptorily refused the demands of Sardinia, respecting the confiscation of the property of her subjects in Lombardy. Trade at Vienna was stagnant.

Italy.—The Pope had concluded a loan for 20,000,000 francs with the Rothschilds.

The Two Sicilies were very unsettled. No insurrection had occurred at Palermo, but executions were nevertheless taking place. The Sardinian Slave Trade Repression Bill had passed.

Turkey.—The adjustment of terms between Turkey and Russia progresses slowly.

Austria had sent a second note to Turkey complaining of the maltreatment of the Dalmatian Christians, to which the Porte has promised attention.

Belgium and Germany.—The Protestants of Holland are agitating against the establishment of a Catholic Hierarchy.

The King of Prussia had offered the Madiai family an asylum in his kingdom, but it is believed they will prefer England.

The Emperor is reported to have informed the Court of Accounts, that if the revenue continued to improve in the same ratio as now, he will soon be enabled to remit nearly 30,000,000 francs of land tax.

Prussia is accused by the foreign press with lukewarmness in her remonstrances with Austria, in favor of Piedmont.

Prussia.—Accounts from Berlin to the 4th announce that the treaty which reconstitutes Zollverein for twelve years, with the accession of Stencerverein, had been signed by all the plenipotentiaries. The commercial treaty of February 19th, between Austria and Prussia, also received their adhesion.

The discoveries made by the police, in arrests at Berlin, prove that the conspiracy was in close alliance with the Italians—one of which, the unsuccessful outbreak at Milan, was a manifestation.

Dr. Kinkel was deeply mixed up in the Berlin affair.

Austria.—Accounts from Vienna confirm

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Anniversary is appointed to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Wednesday evening, May 11th, when the Annual Report will be presented, and the anniversary addressed by several distinguished speakers.

WILLIAM JAY,
S. S. JOCELYN,
J. W. C. PENNINGTON,
SAMUEL A. LEAVITT,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
Committee of Arrangements.

VERMONT STATE CONVENTION.

A State Convention of the Free Democracy of Vermont will be holden at Montpelier, on *Tuesday, the 31st day of May next*, to nominate candidates for State officers, and to transact any other business deemed necessary at that time. A full representation by party, from all parts of the State, is very important at this present juncture, and it is hoped that efficient measures will be taken to secure a large attendance. By order of the Liberty Party State Committee, in the several counties, are particularly requested to take immediate measures to secure a representation from every town in their respective counties.

EDWARD D. BARBER,
H. B. GIBBON, *Stated Clerk.*
Chairman of the State Committee.

FRANKFORT, O., *April* 15, 1853.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTICE.

The next Stated Meeting of the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church (U. S.) will be held in the First Presbyterian Church of Ripley, Ohio, on the first Friday (3d day) of June, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

GEORGE GORDON, *Moderator.*
H. R. GIBBON, *Stated Clerk.*

FRANKFORT, O., *April* 15, 1853.

NOW IS THE TIME TO SUBSCRIBE

For *Woodworth's Youth's Cabinet*, which has the patronage, in every section of the Union, of being "the best young people's paper published in America." A new and improved volume has just commenced, and subscribers are pouring in from every quarter. Upwards of 2,500 new subscriptions have been received since the issue of the initial number. The editor's "Ramblers in the old World" would have added so much to the popularity of the magazine, will be continued during the entire year. Each number contains 48 pages, is beautifully illustrated, and filled with just such reading as is well adapted to entertain and instruct the youthful reader. A monthly volume embraces nearly 600 pages, and about 100 engravings.

"Mr. Woodworth possesses a decided genius in writing for the young. In this department he has surpassed by few, if any, in this country. His style is simple, chaste, and instructive, and always fresh and attractive. We cannot too highly commend the CABINET."—*New York Tribune.*

☞ The prices of this splendid magazine, in consequence of its immense subscription list is only one dollar a year; four copies, $3; seven copies, $5. Specimen numbers, 6 cents. Postage, only 6 cents a year. Please forward your orders soon to the publisher.

March 24—tfno 118 Nassau st., New York.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST.

A RELIGIOUS FAMILY NEWSPAPER, published A weekly, at Utica, New York, is the organ of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, and the only Baptist paper in the United States advocating the principle of non-fellowship with slaveholders, either in ecclesiastical or in voluntary missionary organizations. Terms—$2.00 per annum, in advance; or, if payment be delayed three months, $2 per annum.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NULLIFICATION IN MISSOURI.—F. P. BLAIR, JR.

During the Wilmot-Proviso agitation, F. P. Blair, Jr., a son of the distinguished ex-editor of that name, signalized himself by his able and courageous opposition to the extension of Slavery, fully sustaining Mr. Benton in his warfare upon the Nullifiers. The same position he has maintained ever since, disdaining concealment, and boldly avowing Free Soil doctrines. In the canvass, last summer, in St. Louis, for a seat in the Legislature, his opponent sought to overwhelm him with odium, by reading from an Anti-Slavery speech of his, delivered in 1848; but Blair effectually baffled him, by reiterating and defending, without stint or qualification, every doctrine of that speech. The epithets "Free-Soiler" and "Abolitionist" had no terrors for him; he boldly confronted his enemies, and, with his known views respecting Slavery, he was triumphantly elected.

One of his first movements on taking his seat was, to introduce a resolution to repeal the Jackson resolutions of 1849, which had committed the State to the doctrines of Slavery Extension and Nullification; and on the 1st of February he addressed the House of Representatives in support of his resolution. Our readers will be pleased to see a few extracts from this speech:

He first established the constitutionality of the Wilmot Proviso.

IN HOUSE, FEBRUARY 1, 1853.

The question being on the motion to reject the resolutions offered by Mr. Blair, to repeal the "Jackson resolutions" of 1849:

Mr. Blair said it was proper that he should reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Howard, on the subject of his (Mr. Blair's) position. It was not a pleasant matter to be compelled to speak of himself, and he would therefore dismiss that part of the subject in as few words as possible. The gentleman has read from a speech delivered by me in St. Louis in 1848, in which I advocated the constitutionality and propriety of applying the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery, to the new territories acquired from Mexico. I made that speech, and will not take back one word of it. This is not the first time that speech has been quoted against me. It was read against me by my opponent in St Louis county, in the canvass for a seat in this body. I avowed the sentiments then, and defended its doctrines. The result was, that my Whig nullifying opponent was defeated by one thousand votes. That gentleman happens to be here in this city, at this time, and having no further use for my speech, which he used to so little advantage, I presume he has handed it over to the gentleman from Howard, who will make no use of it that does my opponent did. Since the gentleman has alluded to my advocacy of the doctrine of the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, I will remark, that and since that doctrine was made the pretext upon which he and his confederates advocated the Nullification resolutions of 1849, (which I now propose to repeal,) I will give a brief history of the origin of the Ordinance of 1787—the ordinance by which slavery was first prohibited in the Territories of the United States, and which is precisely the same as the "Wilmot Proviso."

The Ordinance of 1787 was written by Mr. Jefferson, and is still to be seen in his handwriting in the State Department at Washington city. It was adopted by the Congress of the Confederation, with one dissenting voice—that of Mr. Yates, of New York. By it, slavery was prohibited in the Northwest Territory, comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The Ordinance was re-enacted by the first Congress which met under our present Constitution—a Congress composed of many of the men who framed the Constitution, and who understood the work of their own hands quite as well as the smallest politicians of the present day, who have lately endangered the very existence of the Union of the States, by their clamors against that which was sanctioned by the men who achieved the independence of our country and framed the Government under which we live. This act was passed the 17th of August, 1789. A majority of the members of the Senate were members of the Convention which framed the Constitution, and the act was approved by Gen. Washington, then President of the United States, who was President of the Convention. The act of Congress of July, 1790, to establish the Territorial Government of Indiana, reaffirmed the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery, which act was approved by Mr. Adams. The act to establish the Territorial Government of Michigan, approved January 11th, 1805, and the act establishing the Territorial Government of Illinois, passed February 18, 1809, reaffirmed the Ordinance of 1787, and were approved by Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States. Acts with the same provision prohibiting slavery were approved by Presidents Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, and Polk, the last of whom signed and approved the act establishing a Territorial Government in Oregon, approved August 14th, 1848, and establishing a Territorial Government in Minnesota, approved March 3d, 1849. Both of these acts prohibit slavery, and the last was approved only a few days before Mr. Jackson resolutions were passed by the Legislature, proclaiming that the passage of any such act by Congress would be resisted by this State, and that it was a good cause for dissolving the Union. This then, was the pretext for nullification and civil war—the passage of an act approved by every man who has shed lustre upon our nation, and which there is no man of any name and influence in this country, who has not acknowledged, in the most solemn form, to be constitutional.

This doctrine, sanctioned as it has been by the practice of the Government, by every party, and not until lately disputed, has also been sanctioned by the Supreme Court of the United States and the Supreme Court of this State. Of these decisions, I will cite the case of Wringer vs. Whitesides, (1 Mo. R., 474.) The Supreme Court of the United States say, (1 Peters, 542.) that "in legislating for Territories, Congress exercises the combined powers of the General Government and a State Government;" a State has full power to legislate upon the subject of slavery within its limits, and the General Government, with all legislative powers, can do the same within the Territories.

It is claimed that there is no direct grant of power in the Constitution of the United States, under which Congress may legislate for the Territories on this subject. In this the gentleman differs from the Supreme Court of the U. States. The power is granted (says the Supreme Court) in the above decision, empowering Congress to make "all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States."—(2d clause of the 2d section of Art. IV of the Constitution.)

The sovereignty of the General Government necessarily includes this power. It would be singular, indeed, if the Government could purchase, conquer, or in any way acquire, territory which it had no power to govern, and which must be left without government until created into a State. Mr. Calhoun at one time had far different views on this subject; for it is well known that he assented to the session of Texas (which was part of Louisiana, and as such acquired from the French in 1803) to the Government of Spain, in 1819.

To break the force of these arguments, to evade the direct grant of power, its recognition by the highest judicial authority in the country, and the invariable practice of the Government for more than sixty years, the gentleman resorts to a singular expedient. He begins by saying that the Ordinance of 1787 was passed before the formation of the present Constitution of the United States, and that the Constitution, as adopted, contained a clause making it obligatory upon the new Government to maintain the Ordinance of 1787 in its application to the Northwest Territory.

Here is the clause upon which the gentleman relies to sustain this position:

"ART. IV, SEC. 1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation."

The Government is bound by this clause to pay the debts and perform the engagements entered into by the old Confederation. I regard this clause as applying simply and exclusively to the pecuniary obligations of the Confederation, and that the Ordinance of 1787 was not an "engagement" to which this clause applies—the word "engagement" might possibly be construed to mean an alliance or agreement, but it cannot be tortured into meaning an ordinance. An ordinance is a law—an engagement is when one is bound to do some act for another. The construction contended for by the gentleman would include all the ordinances of the old Confederation, and make them binding upon the present Government, although they might be in direct conflict with our Constitution; it would include the old Articles of Confederation, and that I know is sufficiently demonstrates that the argument is absurd.

I advise the gentleman from Howard to be a little careful how he quotes his speech of "Free Soiler," like the Athenian bastard, throwing stones in the street, who was advised by the philosopher to beware, lest he should strike his own father. I would tell the gentleman to beware, lest he strike his political father—Mr. Calhoun. It is matter of history, that Mr. Calhoun, while a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, in consultation with every member of the Cabinet, advised the President to sanction the Missouri Compromise act, by which act Missouri was admitted as a State into the Union, and slavery was prohibited in all the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min, and not included in the limits of Missouri. The gentleman does not deny that Mr. Calhoun advised Mr. Monroe to sanction the Missouri Compromise act, prohibiting slavery in territory south of 36 deg. 30 min, (the fact is attested by President Monroe and J. Q. Adams;) but he contends that Mr. Calhoun only intended to let it, and that he believes the provision prohibiting slavery to be unconstitutional. This is a grave accusation against Mr. Calhoun, from which I shall endeavor to shield Mr. Calhoun never would have advised President Monroe to sanction an act that he conceived to be unconstitutional; that would be to advise the President to violate the Constitution, which both he and the President had sworn to maintain. Mr. Calhoun must have thought the act constitutional, or he would not have assented to it. The gentleman from Howard seems no such inference could be drawn—persons who oppose that a "compromise" authorizes a violation of the Constitution—but I cannot agree with him. The constitutionality and propriety of applying the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery, to the new territories acquired from Mexico. I made that speech, and will not take back one word of it. This is not the first time that speech has been quoted against me. It was read against me by my opponent in St Louis county, in the canvass for a seat in this body. I avowed the sentiments then, and defended its doctrines. The result was, that my Whig nullifying opponent was defeated by one thousand votes. That gentleman happens to be here in this city, at this time, and having no further use for my speech, which he used to so little advantage, I presume he has handed it over to the gentleman from Howard, who will make no use of it that does my opponent did. Since the gentleman has alluded to my advocacy of the doctrine of the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, I will remark, that and since that doctrine was made the pretext upon which he and his confederates advocated the Nullification resolutions of 1849, (which I now propose to repeal,) I will give a brief history of the origin of the Ordinance of 1787—the ordinance by which slavery was first prohibited in the Territories of the United States, and which is precisely the same as the "Wilmot Proviso."

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